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THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.

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THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY

BY

ROBERT BURTON

EDITED BY THE

REV. A. R. SHILLÉTO, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY A. H. BULLEN

VOL. II

LONDON

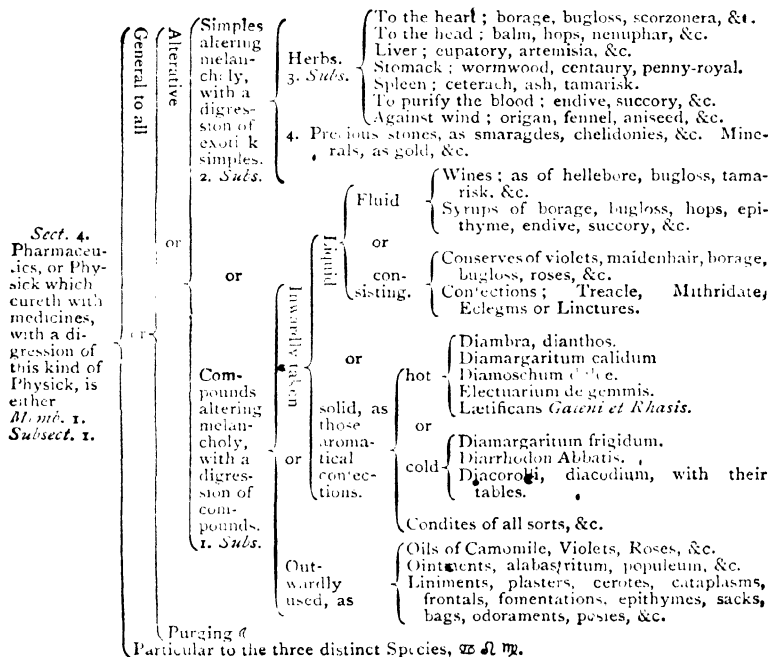
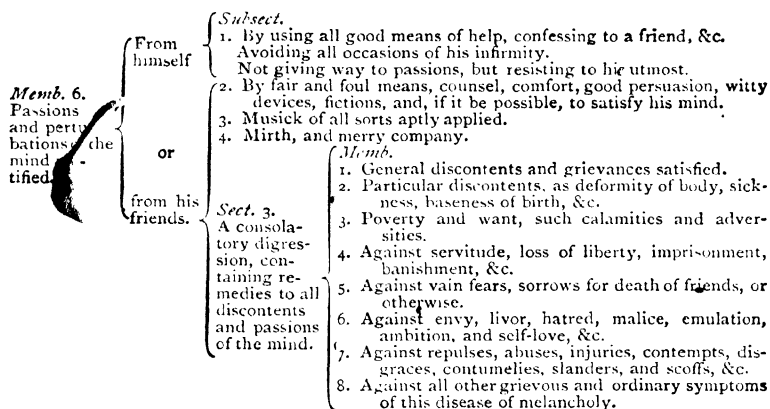
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1913

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TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

THE SYNOPSIS OF THE SECOND PARTITION.

Cure of melancholy is	Sect. 1. General to all, which contains	Unlawful means forbidden.	or	Ment. 1. From the Devil, Magicians, Witches, charms, spells, incantations, images, &c. Quest. 1. Whether they can cure this, or other such like diseases? Quest. 2. Whether, if they can so cure, it be lawful to seek to them for help?
		Lawful means which are	or	2. Immediately from God, a <i>Jove principium</i> , by prayer, &c. 3. Quest. 1. Whether Saints and their Reliques can help this infirmity? Quest. 2. Whether that be lawful in this case to sue to them for aid?
or	Particular to the three distinct species α Ω η			
¶ Sect. 2. Dietetical, which consists in reforming those six non-natural things, as in	Diet rectified. 1. Memb.	Matter and quality. 1. Subs.	or	Such meats as are easy of digestion, well-dressed, hot, sod, &c., young, moist, of good nourishment, &c. Bread of pure wheat, well-baked. Water clear from the fountain. Wine and drink not too strong, &c.
				Flesh { Mountain birds, partridge, pheasant, quails, &c. Hen, capon, mutton, veal, kid, rabbit, &c.
				Fish { That live in gravelly waters, as pike, perch, trout, sea-fish, solid, white, &c.
				Herbs { Borage, bugloss, balm, succory, endive, violets, in broth, not raw, &c.
				Fruits { Raisins of the sun, apples corrected for wind, oranges, &c. parsnips, potatoes, &c.
				2. Quantity. { At seasonable and usual times of repast, in good order, not before the first be concocted, sparing, not overmuch of one dish.
				2. Rectification of Retention and Evacuation, as costiveness, Venery, bleeding at nose, months stopped, baths, &c.
				3. Air rectified, with a digression of the air. • { Naturally in the choice and site of our country, dwelling-place to be hot and moist, light, wholesome, pleasant, &c. Artificially, by often change of air, avoiding winds, fogs, tempests, opening windows, perfumes, &c.
				4. Exercise. • { Of body and mind, but moderate, as hawking, hunting, riding, shooting, bowling, fishing, fowling, walking in fair fields, galleries, tennis, bar. Of mind, as chess, cards, tables, &c., to see plays, masques, &c. serious studies, business, all honest recreations.
				5. Rectification of waking and terrible dreams, &c. 6. Rectifications of passions and perturbations of the mind.



{ Simple purging melancholy.	{ 1. <i>Subs.</i> Upward, as vomits. or Downward. 2. <i>Subs.</i>	{ Asarabacca, Laurel, white Hellebore, Scylla, or Sea-onion, Antimony, Tobacco.
		{ More gentle ; as Senna, Epithyme, Polypody, Myrobalanes, Fumitory, &c.
{ 3. <i>Subs.</i> Compounds purging melancholy.	{ Superior parts. or	{ Mouth
		{ Swallowed, or
{ 3. <i>Subs.</i> Compounds purging melancholy.	{ Superior parts. or	{ Liquid ; as Potions, Julip, Syrups, wine of Hellebore, bugloss, &c. Solid ; as lapis Armenus, & Lazuli, pills of Indy, pills of Fumitory, &c. Electuaries, Diasena, confection of Hamech, Hierologladium, &c.
		{ Not swallowed ; as gargarisms, masticatories, &c.
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				Odoraments of Roses, Violets. Irrigations of the head, with the decoctions of nymphaea, lettuce, mallows, &c. Epithymes, ointments, bags to the heart. Fomentations of oil for the Belly. Baths of sweet water, in which were sod mallows, violets, roses, water-lilies, borage flowers, ramsheads, &c.
6. Correctors of accidents, as,	To procure sleep, and are	Inwardly taken,	Simples, or Compounds,	Poppy, nymphaea, lettuce, roses, purslane, henbane, mandrake, night-shade, opium, &c. Liquid, as Syrups of Poppy, Verbasco, Violets, Roses. Solid, as <i>requies Nicolai</i> , <i>Phittonium Romanum</i> , <i>Laudanum Paracelsi</i> .
				or
		Outwardly used, as,		Against terrible dreams; not to sup late, or eat pease, cabbage, venison, meats heavy of digestion, use balm, hart's-tongue, &c. Against ruddiness and blushing, inward and outward remedies.
§ 2. Mem. Cure of melancholy over the body.				Diet, preparatives, purges, averters, cordials, correctors, as before. Phlebotomy in this kind more necessary, and more frequent.
				To correct and cleanse the blood with Fumitory, Senna, Succory, Dandelion, Endive, &c.
				Subsect. 1. Phlebotomy if need require. Diet, preparatives, averters, cordials, purgers, as before, saving that they must not be so vehement. Use of penny-royal, wormwood, centaury sod, which alone hath cured many. To provoke urine with aniseed, daucus, asarum, &c., and stools, if need be, by clysters and suppositories. To respect the spleen, stomach, liver, hypochondries. To use Treacle now and then in winter. To vomit after meals sometimes, if it be inveterate.
m Cure of Hypochondriacal or windy melancholy. 3. Mem.		Inwardly taken,	Simples, or Compounds, as	Roots, { Galanga, gentian, enula, angelica, calamus aromaticus, zedoary, china, condite ginger, &c. Herbs, { Penny-royal, rue, calamint, bay-leaves, and berries, scordium, bettany, lavender, camomile, centaury, wormwood, cummin, broom, orange pills. Spices, { Saffron, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, pepper, musk, zedoary with wine, &c. Seeds, { Aniseed, fennelseed, ammi, cari, cummin, nettle, bays, parsley, grana paradisi.
				or
2. To expel wind.				Outwardly used, as cupping-glasses to the Hypochondries, without scarification, oil of camomile, rue, aniseed, their decoctions, &c.

THE SECOND PARTITION.

THE CURE OF MELANCHOLY.

THE FIRST { SECTION.
MEMBER.
SUBSECTION.

Unlawful Cures rejected.

INVETERATE Melancholy, howsoever it may seem to be a continue, inexorable disease, hard to be cured, accompanying them to their graves most part, as ¹ *Montanus* observes, yet many times it may be helped, even that which is most violent, or at least, according to the same ² Author, *it may be mitigated and much eased. Nil desperandum.*³ It may be hard to cure, but not impossible, for him that is most grievously affected, if he be but willing to be helped.

Upon this good hope I will proceed, using the same method in the cure, which I have formerly used in the rehearsing of the causes; first *general*, then *particular*; and those according to their several species. Of these cures some be *lawful*, some again *unlawful*, which, though frequent, familiar, and often used, yet justly censured, and to be controverted. As first, whether by these diabolical means, which are commonly practised by the Devil and his Ministers, Sorcerers, Witches, Magicians, &c. by Spells, Cabalistical words, Charms, Characters, Images, Amulets, Ligatures, Philters, Incantations, &c. this disease and the like may be cured? and, if they may, whether it be lawful to make use of them, those magnetical cures, or for our good to seek after such means in any case? The first, whether they can do any such

¹ Consil. 235. pro Abbate Italo. ² Consil. 23. Aut curabitur, aut certè minus afficietur, si volet. [³ Hor. Odes, i. vii. 27. Never despair.]

cures, is questioned amongst many writers, some affirming, some denying. *Valesius, cont. med. lib. 5. cap. 6, Malleus Maleficor. Heurnius, l. 3. pract. med. c. 28, Cælius, lib. 16. c. 16, Delrio, Tom. 3. Wierus, l. 2. de præstig. dæm. Libanius, Lavater, de spect. part. c. 7, Holbrenner the Lutheran in Pistorium, Polydore Virg. l. 1. de prodig. Tandlerus, Lemnius, (Hippocrates, and Avicenna amongst the rest), deny that Spirits or Devils have any power over us, and refer all (with *Pomponatius of Padua*) to natural causes and humours. Of the other opinion are *Bodinus, Demonomantie, l. 3. c. 2, Arnoldus, Marcellus Empiricus, J. Pistorius, Paracelsus, Apodeix. Magic. Agrippa, lib. 2. de occult. Philos. c. 36, 69, 71, 72. & l. 3. c. 23. & 10, Marcilius Ficinus, de vit. colit. compar. c. 13. 15. 18. 21. &c., Galeottus, de promiscua doct. c. 24, Jovianus Pontanus, Tom. 2, Plin. l. 28. c. 2, Strabo, l. 15. Geog. Leo Suavius: Goelenius, de ung. armor. Oswoldus Crollius, Ernestus Burgeravius, Dr. Flud, &c. Cardan, de subt. brings many proofs out of *Ars Notoria*, and *Solomon's* decayed works, old *Hermes, Artesius, Costaben Luca, Picatrix, &c.* that such cures may be done. They can make fire it shall not burn, fetch back thieves or stolen goods, shew their absent faces in a glass, make serpents lie still, stanch blood, salve gouts, epilepsies, biting of mad dogs, tooth-ache, melancholy, & *omnia mundi mala*,¹ make men immortal, young again, as the ²Spanish Marquess is said to have done by one of his slaves, and some which jugglers in ³China maintain still (as *Tragaltius* writes) that they can do by their extraordinary skill in Physick, & some of our modern Chemists by their strange limbecks, by their spells, Philosopher's stones, and charms. ⁴Many doubt, saith *Nicholas Taurellus, whether the Devil can cure such diseases he hath not made, and some flatly deny it, howsoever common experience confirms to our astonishment that Magicians can work such feats, and that the Devil without impediment can penetrate through all the parts of our bodies, and cure such maladies by means to us unknown.* **Danæus*, in his tract *de Sortiariis*, subscribes to this of *Taurellus*; *Erastus, de Lamiis*, maintaineth as much, and so do most Divines, that out of their**

[¹ And all the ills of the world.] ² Vide Renatum Morey, Animad. in Scholam Salernit. c. 38. Si ad 40 annos possent producere vitam, cur non ad centum? si ad centum, cur non ad mille? ³ Hist. Chinesium. ⁴ Alii dubitant an dæmon possit morbos curare quos non fecit, alii negant, sed quotidiana experientia confirmat magos magno multorum stupore morbos curare, singulas corporis partes citra impedimentum permeare, et modis nobis ignotis curare.

excellent knowledge and long experience they can commit ¹*agentes cum patientibus, colligere semina rerum, eaque materie applicare*, as *Austin* infers, *de Civ. Dei*, & *de Trinit.* l. 3. c. 7. & 8; they can work stupend and admirable conclusions; we see the effects only, but not the causes of them. Nothing so familiar as to hear of such cures. Sorcerers are too common; cunning men, wizards, and white-witches, as they call them, in every village, which, if they be sought unto, will help almost all infirmities of body and mind, *servatores* in Latin,² & they have commonly *St. Catherine's Wheel* printed in the roof of their mouth, or in some other part about them; *resistent incantatorum prestigiis*, (³*Boissardus* writes), *morbos à sagis motos propulsant*, &c. that to doubt of it any longer, ⁴*or not to believe, were to run into that other sceptical extreme of incredulity*, saith *Taurellus*. *Leo Suavius*, in his Comment upon *Paracelsus*, seems to make it an art, which ought to be approved: *Pistorius* and others stiffly maintain the use of charms, words, characters, &c. *Ars vera est, sed pauci artifices reperiuntur*; the art is true, but there be but a few that have skill in it. *Marcellus Donatus*, l. 2. *de hist. mir. c.* 1, proves out of *Josephus'* Eighth Book of Antiquities⁵ that ⁶*Solomon so cured all the diseases of the mind by spells, charms, and drove away Devils, and that Eleazar did as much before Vespasian*. *Langius*, in his *med. epist.* holds *Jupiter Menecrates*, that did so many stupend cures in his time, to have used this art, and that he was no other than a Magician. Many famous cures are daily done in this kind, the Devil is an expert Physician, as *Godelman* calls him, *lib.* 1. c. 18, and God permits oftentimes these Witches and Magicians to produce such effects, as *Lavater*, *cap.* 3. *lib.* 8. *part.* 3. *cap.* 1, *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 1. *de prodigiis*, *Delrio*, and others, admit. Such cures may be done, and, as *Paracels. Tom.* 4. *de morb. ament.* stiffly maintains, ⁷*they cannot otherwise be cured but by spells, seals, and spiritual Physick*. ⁸*Arnoldus*, *lib. de sigillis*, sets down the making of them, so doth *Rulandus*, and many others.

Hoc posito,⁹ [it being assumed that] they can effect such cures,

¹ *Agentia cum patientibus conjugunt.*

[² See *Plautus*, *Pseud.* iii. ii. 83, 84.]

³ *Cap. 11. de Servat.* • ⁴ *Hæc alii vident, sed vereor ne, dum nolumus esse creduli, vitium non effugiamus incredulitatis.* [⁵ *Antiq.* viii. c. ii. § 5.] ⁶ *Retert Solomonem mentis morbos curasse, et demones abegisse ipsos camminibus, quod et coram Vespasiano fecit Eleazar.* [See *Josephus*, *Antiq.* viii. 2, § 5.] ⁷ *Spirituales morbi spiritualiter curari debent.*

⁸ *Sigillum ex auro peculiari ad melancholiam, &c.* [⁹ *Cic. Div.* i. § 118.]

the main question is whether it be lawful in a desperate case to crave their help, or ask a Wizard's advice. 'Tis a common practice of some men to go first to a Witch, and then to a Physician; if one cannot, the other shall; *Flectere si nequeant Superos, Acheronta movebunt*.² *It matters not, saith Paracelsus, whether it be God or the Devil, Angels or unclean Spirits cure him, so that he be eased.* If a man fall into a ditch, as he prosecutes it, what matter is it whether a friend or an enemy help him out? and if I be troubled with such a malady, what care I whether the Devil himself, or any of his Ministers, by God's permission, redeem me? He calls a³ Magician God's Minister and his Vicar, applying that of *vos estis Dii*⁴ profanely to them, for which he is lashed by *T. Erastus, part. 1. fol. 45*; and elsewhere he encourageth his patients to have a good faith, *a strong imagination, and they shall find the effects; let Divines say to the contrary what they will.* He proves and contends that many diseases cannot otherwise be cured; *incantatione orti, incantatione curari debent*; if they be caused by incantation, they must be cured by incantation. *Constantinus, l. 4.* approves of such remedies: *Bartolus* the Lawyer, *Peter Ærodius, rerum Judic. l. 3. tit. 7, Salicetus, Godefridus*, with others of that sect, allow of them; *modò sint ad sanitatem, quæ à magis fiunt, secùs non*, so they be for the parties' good, or not at all. But these men are confuted by *Remigius, Bodinus, dæm. l. 3. c. 2, Godelmannus, lib. 1. cap. 8, Wierus, Delrio, l. 6. quæst. 2. Tom. 3. mag. inquis. Erastus de Lamiis*; all our⁷ Divines, Schoolmen, and such as write Cases of Conscience, are against it, the Scripture itself absolutely forbids it as a mortal sin, *Levit. cap. 18, 19, 20. Deut. 18. &c. Rom. 8. 19. Evil is not to be done that good may come of it.* Much better it were for such patients, that are so troubled, to endure a little misery in this life than to hazard their souls' health for ever, and, as *Delrio* counselleth, *a much better die than be so*

[1 Virg. Æn. vii. 312. If they cannot move Heaven, they will move Hell.]
² Lib. 1. de occult. Philos. Nihil refert an Deus an Diabolus, Angeli an immundi Spiritus, ægro opem ferant, modo morbus curetur. ³ Magus Minister et Vicarius Dei. [⁴ Ps. 82. 6.] ⁵ Utere forti imaginatione, et experieris effectum; dicant in adversum quicquid volunt Theologi. ⁶ Idem Plinius contendit quosdam esse morbos qui incantamentis solum curentur. [N. H. Lib. 28. capp. 3. 4.] ⁷ Qui talibus credunt, aut ad eorum domos euntes, aut suis domibus introducunt, aut interrogant, scient se fidem Christianam et baptismum prævaricasse, et apostatas esse. Austin de superstit. observ. Hoc pacto à Deo deficitur ad diabolum, P. Mart. ⁸ Mori præstat quam superstitiosè sanari, Disquis. mag. l. 2. c. 2. sect. 1. quæst. 1. Tom. 3.

cured. Some take upon them to expel Devils by natural remedies, and magical exorcisms, which they seem to approve out of the practice of the primitive Church, as that above cited of *Josephus, Eleazar, Irenæus, Tertullian, Austin.* *Eusebius* makes mention of such, and Magick itself hath been publickly professed in some Universities, as of old in *Salamanca* in *Spain*, and *Cracow* in *Poland*: but condemned, Anno 1318, by the Chancellor, and University of *Paris*. Our Pontifical writers retain many of these adjurations and forms of exorcisms still in the Church; besides those in Baptism used, they exorcise meats, and such as are possessed, as they hold, in Christ's name. Read *Hieron. Mengus, c. 3, Pet. Tyreus, part. 3. c. 8*, what exorcisms they prescribe, besides those ordinary means of ²fire, *suffumigations, lights, cutting the air* with swords, *c. 57*, herbs, odours: of which *Tostatus* treats, *2. Reg. c. 16. quæst. 43*. You shall find many vain and frivolous superstitious forms of exorcisms among them, not to be tolerated or endured.

MEMB. II.

Lawful Cures, first from God.

BEING so clearly evinced, as it is, all unlawful cures are to be refused, it remains to treat of such as are to be admitted, and those are commonly such which God hath appointed, ³by virtue of stones, herbs, plants, meats, &c. and the like, which are prepared and applied to our use by art and industry of Physicians, who are the dispensers of such treasures for our good, and to be *'honoured for necessities' sake*, God's intermediate Ministers, to whom in our infirmities we are to seek for help. Yet not so that we rely too much, or wholly upon them: *a Jove principium*,⁴ we must first begin with ⁵prayer, and then use physick; not one without the other, but both together. To pray alone, and reject ordinary means, ⁶is to do like him in *Aesop*,⁷ that, when his cart was stalled,⁸ lay flat on his back, and cried aloud, "Help, Her-

¹ P. Lombard. ² Suffitus, gladiorum ictus, &c. ³ The Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them, *Eccclus. xxxviii. 4.*
⁴ My son, fail not in thy sickness, but pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee whole. *Eccclus. xxxviii. 9.* [⁵ Virg. *Æn. vii. 219.*] ⁶ Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum. *Hor. 3. Carm. Od. 6. [6.]* [⁷ *Fab. 81. ed. Halm.*] [⁸ Set fast in the mud.]

cules!" but that was to little purpose, except, as his friend advised him, *rotis tute ipse annitaris*, he whipt his horses withal, and put his shoulder to the wheel. God works by means, as *Christ* cured the blind man with clay and spittle.¹

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.²

As we must pray for health of body and mind, so we must use our utmost endeavours to preserve & continue it. Some kind of Devils are not cast out but by fasting & prayer,³ & both necessarily required, not one without the other. For all the physick we can use, art, excellent industry, is to no purpose without calling upon God, *Nil juvat immensos Cratero promittere montes*:⁴ it is in vain to seek for help, run, ride, except God bless us.

———— non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non avium citharæque cantus.⁵

⁶Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri,
Ægroto possunt domino deducere febres.

⁷With house, with land, with money, and with gold,
The master's fever will not be controll'd.

We must use prayer and physick both together: and so no doubt but our prayers will be available, and our physick take effect. 'Tis that *Hesekiah* practised, *2 Kings*, 20, *Luke* the Evangelist; and which we are enjoined, *Coloss.* 4. not the patient only, but the Physician himself. *Hippocrates*, an heathen, required this in a good practitioner, and so did *Galen*, *lib. de Plat. & Hipp. dog. l. 9. cap. 15*; and in that tract of his, *an mores sequantur temp. cor. c. 11*, 'tis a thing which he doth inculcate,⁸ and many others. *Hyperius*, in his first book *de sacr. script. lect.* speaking of that happiness and good success which all Physicians desire and hope for in their cures, ⁹*tells them that it is not to be expected, except with a true faith they call upon God, and teach their patients to do the like.* The council of *Lateran*, *Canon 22*, decreed they should do so;

[¹ St. John ix. 6.] [² Juv. x. 356.] [³ Mark, ix. 29.] [⁴ Pers. iii. 65. Nought it avails to promise Craterus Mountains of gold to cure us. On Craterus see Jahn's Note.] [⁵ Music and fine fare can do no good. [Hor. Odes iii. i. 18—20.] [⁶ Hor. l. i. Ep. 2. [47, 48.] [⁷ Sint Crœsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus, aureas undas agens, eripiet unquam è miseris. [See Erasmi Adagia, pp. 251, 252.] [⁸ Scientia de Deo debet in medico infixæ esse, Mesue Arabs. Sanat omnes languores Deus. For you shall pray to your Lord, that he would prosper that which is given for ease, and then use physick for the prolonging of life, Ecclesi. xxxviii. 4. [⁹ Omnes optant quamdam in medicina felicitatem, sed hanc non est quod expectent, nisi Deum verâ fide invocent, atque agros similiter ad ardentem vociferationem excitent.

the Fathers of the Church have still advised as much. Whatsoever thou takest in hand (saith ¹ *Gregory*) *let God be of thy counsel, consult with Him, that healeth those that are broken in heart, (Psal. 147. 3,) and bindeth up their sores.* Otherwise, as the Prophet *Jeremy*, *cap. 46. 11*, denounced to *Egypt*, In vain shalt thou use many medicines, for thou shalt have no healing. It is the same counsel which ² *Commynes*, that politick Historiographer, gives to all Christian Princes, upon occasion of that unhappy overthrow of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, by means of which he was extremely melancholy, and sick to death, in so much that neither physick nor persuasion could do him any good, perceiving his preposterous error belike, adviseth all great men in such cases ³ *to pray first to God with all submission and penitency, to confess their sins, & then to use physick.* The very same fault it was which the Prophet reprehends in *Asa*, King of *Judah*,⁴ that he relied more on physick than on God, and by all means would have him to amend it. And 'tis a fit caution to be observed of all other sorts of men. The Prophet *David* was so observant of this precept, that in his greatest misery and vexation of mind he put this rule first in practice. *Ps. 77. 3, When I am in heaviness, I will think on God. Ps. 85. 4, Comfort the soul of thy servant, for unto thee I lift up my soul: and ver. 7, In the day of trouble will I call upon thee, for thou hearest me. Ps. 54. 1, Save me, O God, by thy name, &c. Ps. 82. Ps. 20.* And 'tis the common practice of all good men. *Ps. 107. 13, When their heart was humbled with heaviness, they cried to the Lord in their trouble, and he delivered them from their distress.* And they have found good success in so doing, as *David* confesseth, *Ps. 30. 12, Thou hast turned my mourning into joy, thou hast loosed my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness.* Therefore he adviseth all others to do the like, *Ps. 31. 27, All ye that trust in the Lord, be strong, & He shall establish your heart.* It is reported by ⁵ *Suidas*, speaking of *Hezekiah*, that there was a great Book of old of King *Solomon's*

¹ Lemnius à Gregor. exhor. ad vitam opt. instit. cap. 48. Quicquid meditaris aggredi aut perficere, Deum in consilium adhibeto. ² Commentar. lib. [v. c. v.] Ob infelicem pugnam contristatus, in ægritudinem incidit, ita ut à medicis curari non posset. ³ In his ammi malis princeps imprimis ad Deum precetur, et peccata veniam exoret, inde ad medicinam, &c. [Ibidem.] ⁴ ii. Chron. xvi. 12. cf. Jer. xvii. 5.] ⁵ Greg. Tolos. To. 2. l. 28. c. 7. Syntax. In vestibulo Templi Solomonis liber remedium ejusque morbi fuit, quem revulsit Ezechias, quod populus, neglecto Deo nec invocato, sanitatem inde peteret.

writing, which contained medicines for all manner of diseases, and lay open still as they came into the Temple: but *Hezekiah*, King of *Jerusalem*, caused it to be taken away, because it made the people secure, to neglect their duty in calling and relying upon God, out of a confidence on those remedies. ¹*Minucius*, that worthy Consul of *Rome*, in an oration he made to his soldiers, much offended with them, and taxed their ignorance that in their misery called more on him than upon God. A general fault it is all over the world, and *Minucius* his speech concerns us all, we rely more on physick, and seek oftener to Physicians than to God himself. As much faulty are they that prescribe as they that ask, respecting wholly their gain, and trusting more to their ordinary receipts and medicines many times than to him that made them. I would wish all patients in this behalf, in the midst of their melancholy, to remember that of *Siracides*, *Ecc. i. 11 and 12*, *The fear of the Lord is glory, and gladness, and rejoicing. The fear of the Lord maketh a merry heart, and giveth gladness, and joy, and long life:* and all such as prescribe physick, to begin in *nomine Dei*, [in the name of God], as ²*Mesue* did, to imitate *Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus*, that in all his consultations still concludes with a prayer for the good success of his business; and to remember that of *Crato*, one of their predecessors, *fuge avaritiam, & sine oratione & invocatione Dei nihil facias*, avoid covetousness, and do nothing without invocation upon God.

MEMB. III.

Whether it be lawful to seek to Saints for Aid in this Disease.

THAT we must pray to God no man doubts; but whether we should pray to Saints in such cases, or whether they can do us any good, it may be lawfully controverted; whether their Images, Shrines, Reliques, consecrated things, holy water, medals, benedictions, those divine amulets, holy exorcisms, and the sign of the Cross, be available in this disease. The Papists on the one side

¹ Livy, [xxii. 14.] *Strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam Deorum invocantium opem.* ² Rulandus adjungit optimam orationem ad finem. Empiricorum. Mercurialis, consil. 25, ita concludit. Montanus passim, &c. et plures alii, &c.

stiffly maintain, how many melancholy, mad, dæmoniack persons are daily cured at St. *Anthony's* Church in *Padua*, at St. *Vitus'* in *Germany*, by our Lady of *Loretto* in *Italy*, our Lady of *Sichem* in the Low Countries: *'quæ et cæcis lumen, ægris salutem, portuis vitam, claudis gressum reddit, omnes morbos corporis, animi, curat, et in ipsos dæmones imperium exercet*; she cures halt, lame, blind, all diseases of body and mind, and commands the Devil himself, saith *Lipsius*: 25,000 in a day come thither, *'quis nisi numedeum illum locum sic induxit?* who brought them? *in auribus, in oculis omnium gesta, nova novitia*; new news lately done, our eyes and ears are full of her cures, and who can relate them all? They have a proper Saint almost for every peculiar infirmity; for poison, gout, agues, *Petronella*: St. *Romanus* for such as are possessed: *Valentine* for the falling sickness; St. *Vitus* for mad men, &c. And as of old *Pliny* reckons up gods for all diseases, (*Febri fanum dicatum est*), *Lilius Giraldus* repeats many of her ceremonies: all affections of the mind were heretofore accounted gods; *Love*, & *Sorrow*, *Virtue*, *Honour*, *Liberty*, *Contumely*, *Impudency*, had their Temples; Tempests, Seasons, *Crepitus Ventris*, *Dea Vacuna*, *Dea Cloacina*, there was a Goddess of idleness, a Goddess of the draught, or jakes, *Prema*, *Premunda*, *Priapus*, bawdy Gods, and Gods for all offices. *Varro* reckons up 30,000 gods; *Lucian* makes *Podagra* (the Gout) a Goddess, and assigns her Priests & Ministers: and Melancholy comes not behind; for, as *Austin* mentioneth, *l. 4, de Civit. Dei, cap. 9*, there was of old *Angerona Dea*, and she had her Chapel and Feasts, to whom (saith *Macrobius*) they did offer sacrifice yearly, that she might be pacified as well as the rest. 'Tis no new thing, you see, this of Papists; and in my judgement that old doting *Lipsius* might have fitter dedicated his "pen, after all his labours, to this our goddess of Melancholy than to his *Virgo Hallensis*, and been her Chaplain, it would have become him better. But he, poor man, thought no harm in that which he did, and will not be persuaded but that he doth well; he hath so many patrons, and honourable precedents in the like kind, that justify as much, as eagerly, and more than he there saith of his Lady and

¹ *Lipsius*. [*Diva Virgo Sichemiensis*.] ² *Cap. 26.* ³ *Lib. 2. cap. 7. de Deo. Morbisque in genera descriptis Deos reperimus.* ⁴ *Selden, prolog. cap. 3. de Diis Syris. Rosinus.* ⁵ See *Lilii Giraldi syntagma de Diis, &c.* ⁶ *12 Cal. Januarii ferias celebrant, ut angores et animi sollicitudines propitiata depellant.* [*7 S. i. 10.*] ⁸ *Hanc Divæ pennam consecravi, Lipsius. [*Diva Virgo Hallensis*.]*

Mistress: read but superstitious *Cister* and *Gretser's* Tract *de Cruce Laur. Arcturus Fanteus, de Invoc. Sanct. Bellarmine, Delrio, dis. mag. Tom. 3. l. 6. quæst. 2. sect. 3, Greg. Tolosanus, Tom. 2. lib. 8. cap. 24. Syntax. Strozius Cicogna, lib. 4. cap. 9, Tyrcus, Hieronymus Mengus*, and you shall find infinite examples of cures done in this kind, by holy waters, reliques, crosses, exorcisms, amulets, images, consecrated beads, &c. *Barradius* the Jesuit boldly gives it out, that *Christ's* countenance, and the Virgin *Mary's*, would cure melancholy, if one had looked stedfastly on them. *P. Morales* the Spaniard, in his book *de pulch. Jes. & Mar.* confirms the same out of *Carthusianus*, and I know not whom, that it was a common proverb in those days for such as were troubled in mind to say, *Eamus ad videndum filium Mariæ*, let us [go to] see the son of *Mary*, as they do now post to *St. Anthony's* in *Padua*, or to *St. Hilary's* at *Poitiers* in *France*.¹ In a closet of that Church there is at this day *St. Hilary's* bed to be seen, to which they bring all the mad men in the country, and after some prayers and other ceremonies they lay them down there to sleep, and so they recover. It is an ordinary thing in those parts to send all their mad men to *St. Hilary's* cradle. They say the like of *S. Tubery* in² another place. *Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Camb. c. 1*, tells strange stories of *S. Ciricius'* staff, that would cure this and all other diseases. Others say as much (as³ *Hospinian* observes) of the three Kings of *Cologne*; their names written in parchment, and hung about a patient's neck, with the sign of the cross, will produce like effects. Read *Lipomannus*, or that Golden Legend of *Jacobus de Voragine*,⁴ you shall have infinite stories, or those new relations of our⁵ Jesuits in *Japan* and *China*, of *Mut. Riccius, Acosta, Loyola, Xaverius'* life, &c. *Jasper Belga*, a Jesuit, cured a mad woman by hanging *St. John's* Gospel about her neck, and many such. Holy water did as much in *Japan*, &c. Nothing so familiar in their works, as such examples.

But we, on the other side, seek to God alone. We say with *David, Psal. 46. 1, God is our hope and strength, and help in trouble, ready to be found.* For their catalogue of examples, we make no

¹ Jodocus Sincerus, itin. Gallie. 1617. Huc mente captos deducunt, et statis orationibus, sacrisque peractis, in illum lectum dormitum ponunt, &c. ² In Gallia Narbonensi. ³ Lib. de orig. Fectorum. Collo suspensa et pergamenis inscripta, cum signo crucis, &c. [⁴ A Dominican friar, who afterwards became Abp. of Genoa, and died in 1292.] ⁵ Em. Acosta, com. rerum in Oriente gest. a societate Jesu, Anno 1568. Epist. Gonsalvi Fernandis, Anno 1560, è Japonia.

other answer but that they are false fictions, or diabolical illusions, counterfeit miracles. We cannot deny but that it is an ordinary thing, on St. *Anthony's* day in *Padua*, to bring divers mad men and dæmoniack persons to be cured: yet we make a doubt whether such parties be so affected indeed, but prepared by their Priests by certain ointments and drams, to cozen the commonalty, as ¹*Hildesheim* well saith. The like is commonly practised in *Bohemia*, as *Mathiolus* gives us to understand in his preface to his comment upon *Dioscorides*. But we need not run so far for examples in this kind, we have a just volume published at home to this purpose: ²*A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to withdraw the hearts of religious men under pretence of casting out of Devils, practised by Father Edmunds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, and divers Romish Priests, his wicked associates, with the several parties' names, confessions, examinations, &c. which were pretended to be possessed.* But these are ordinary tricks only to get opinion and money, mere impostures. *Æsculapius* of old, that counterfeit God, did as many famous cures; his temple (as ³*Strabo* relates) was daily full of patients, and as many several tables,⁴ inscriptions, pendants, donaries,⁵ &c. to be seen in his Church, as at this day at our Lady of *Loretto's* in *Italy*. It was a custom long since,

——— "suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris deo : ⁶

[To hang up mariners' drenched garments in
Great Neptune's temple.]

To do the like, in former times, they were seduced and deluded as they are now. 'Tis the same Devil still, called heretofore *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Neptune*, *Venus*, *Æsculapius*, &c. as ¹*Lactantius* l. 2, de orig. erroris, c. 17, observes. The same *Jupiter* and those bad Angels are now worshipped and adored by the name of S. *Sebastian*, *Barbara*, &c. *Christopher* and *George* are come in their places. Our Lady succeeds *Venus*, as they use her in many offices; the rest are otherwise supplied, as ²*Lavater* writes, and so they are

¹ Spicil. de morbis dæmoniis. Sic à sacrificiis parati unguentis magicis corpori illitis, ut stultæ plebeculæ persuadeant tales curari à Sancto Antonio. ² Printed at London 4to. by J. Roberts, 1605. ³ Geog. lib. 8. [p. 374.] Cujus fanum ægrotantium multitudine, refertum undique, et tabellis pendentibus, in quibus sanati languores erant inscripti. [⁴ = Tablets.] [⁵ = Gifts.] ⁶ Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 5. [15, 16.] ⁷ Mali Angeli sumpserunt olim nomen Jovis, Junonis, Apollinis, &c. quos Gentiles Deo credabant, nunc S. Sebastiani, Ba baræ, &c. nomen habent, et aliorum. ⁸ Part. 2. cap. 9. de spect. Veneri substituunt Virginem Mariam.

deluded. ¹*And God often winks at these impostures, because they forsake His Word, & betake themselves to the Devil, as they do that seek after Holy Water, Crosses, &c. Wierus, l. 4. c. 3.* What can these men plead for themselves more than those heathen Gods? the same cure done by both, the same spirit that seduceth: but read more of the Pagan Gods' effects in *Austin, de Civitate Dei, l. 10. c. 6,* and of *Esculapius* especially in *Cicogna, l. 3. c. 8*; or put case they coast, help, why should we rather seek to them than to Christ himself, since that he so kindly invites us unto him, *Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, & I will ease you, Mat. 11. [28,]* and we know that there is one God, *one Mediator betwixt God and man, Jesus Christ, (1 Tim. 2. 5,) who gave himself a ransom for all men. We know that we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ (1 Joh. 2. 1,) that there is no other name under heaven, by which we can be saved, but by his, [Acts 4. 12,]* who is always ready to hear us, and sits at the right hand of God, and from ³whom we can have no repulse, *solus vult, solus potest, curat universos tanquam singulos, et unumquemque nostrum ut solum*; we are all as one to him, he cares for us all as one, and why should we then seek to any other but to him?

MEMB. IV.

SUBJECT 1.—*Physician, Patient, Physick.*

OF those diverse gifts which, our Apostle *Paul*⁵ saith, God hath bestowed on man, this of Physick is not the least, but most necessary, and especially conducing to the good of mankind. Next therefore to God in all our extremities, (*for of the Most High cometh healing, Eccclus 38. 2,*) we must seek to, and rely upon the Physician, ⁶who is *Manus Dei*, [the Hand of God], saith *Hierophilus*, and to whom he hath given knowledge, that he might be glorified in his wondrous works. *With such doth he heal men, and taketh away their pains, Eccclus. 38. 6, 7. When thou hast need of him, let him not go from*

¹ Ad hæc ludibria Deus connivet frequenter, ubi relicto verbo Dei ad Satanam curritur; quales hi sunt, qui aquam lustralem, crucem, &c. lubricæ fidei hominibus offerunt. ² Carior est illis homo quam sibi, [Juv. x. 350.] ³ Bernard. ⁴ Austin. [See Enarratio in Psalmum cxlv. § 13.] ⁵ Romans, xii. 6.] ⁶ Eccclus. xxxviii. [3.] In the sight of great men he shall be in admiration.

thee. The hour may come that their enterprises may have good success, ver. [12,] 13. It is not therefore to be doubted that, if we seek a Physician as we ought, we may be eased of our infirmities, such a one I mean as is sufficient, and worthily so called; for there be many Mountebanks, Quacksalvers, Empiricks, in every street almost, and in every village, that take upon themselves his name, make this noble and profitable Art to be evil spoken of, and condemned, by reason of these base and illiterate Artificers: but such a Physician I speak of as is approved, learned, skilful, honest, &c. of whose duty *Wecker, Antid. c. 2. & Syntax. med. Crato, Julius Alexandrinus, medic. Heurnius, prax. med. lib. 3. cap. 1, &c.* treat at large. For this particular disease, him that shall take upon him to cure it, ¹*Paracelsus* will have to be a Magician, a Chemist, a Philosopher, an Astrologer; *Thurnesserus, Severinus* the Dane, and some other of his followers, require as much: *many of them cannot be cured but by Magick.* ²*Paracelsus* is so stiff for those chemical medicines that in his cures he will admit almost of no other Physick, deriding in the mean time *Hippocrates, Galen*, and all their followers. But Magick, and all such remedies, I have already censured, & shall speak of Chemistry ³elsewhere. Astrology is required by many famous Physicians, by *Ficinus, Crato, Fernellius*, ⁴doubted of and exploded by others. I will not take upon me to decide the controversy myself; *Johannes Hossurtus, Thomas Boderius*, and *Maginus* in the Preface to his Mathematical Physick, shall determine for me. Many Physicians explode Astrology in Physick, (saith he), there is no use of it, *unam artem ac quasi temerariam insectantur, ac gloriam sibi ab ejus imperitia aucupari*, but I will reprove Physicians by Physicians that defend and profess it, *Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, &c.* that count them butchers without it, *homicidas medicos Astrologiæ ignaros, &c.* *Paracelsus* goes farther, and will have his Physician ⁵predestinated to this man's cure, this [man's] malady, and time of cure, the scheme of each geniture inspected, gathering of herbs, of administering, Astrologically observed; in which *Thurnesserus* and some *iatromathematical* professors are too superstitious in my judgement. ⁶*Hellebore will help, but not*

¹ Tom. 4. Tract. 3. de morbis amentium. Horum multi non nisi à Magis curandi et Astrologis, quoniam origo ejus à cœlis petenda est. ² Lib. de Podagra. ³ Sect. 5. ⁴ Langius. I. Cæsar Claudinus, consult. ⁵ Prædestinatum ad hunc curandum. ⁶ Helleborus curat, sed quod ab omni datus medico vanum est.

always, not given by every Physician, &c. But these men are too peremptory and self-conceited, as I think. But what do I do, interposing in that which is beyond my reach? A blind man cannot judge of colours, nor I peradventure of these things. Only thus much I would require, honesty in every Physician, that he be not over-careless or covetous, *Harpy-like* to make a prey of his patient; *carnificis namque est* (as ¹*Wecker* notes) *inter ipsos cruciatus in saus pretium exposcere*, as an hungry Chirurgeon often produces and wire-draws his cure, so long as there is any hope of pay,

Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.²

Many of them, to get a fee, will give Physick to every one that comes, when there is no cause, and they do so *irritare silentem morbum*, as ³*Heurnius* complains, stir up a silent disease, as it often falleth out, which by good counsel, good advice alone, might have been happily composed, or by rectification of those six non-natural things otherwise cured. This is *nature bellum inferre*, to oppugn nature, & to make a strong body weak. *Arnoldus*, in his 8th & 11th Aphorisms, gives cautions against, and expressly forbiddeth it. *'A wise Physician will not give Physick but upon necessity, & first try medicinal diet, before he proceed to medicinal cure.'* In another place he laughs those men to scorn, that think *longis syrupis expugnare demones & animi phantasmata*, they can purge phantastical imaginations & the Devil by Physick. Another caution is, that they proceed upon good grounds, if so be there be need of Physick, & not mistake the disease. They are often deceived by the ⁴similitude of symptoms, saith *Heurnius*; and I could give instance in many consultations, wherein they have prescribed opposite Physick. Sometimes they go too perfunctorily to work, in not prescribing a just ⁵course of Physick. To stir up the humour, and not to purge it, doth often more harm than good. *Montanus, consil.* 30, inveighs against such perturbations, *that purge*

¹ Antid. gen. lib. 3. cap. 2. [The leech never leaves the skin until filled with blood. Hor. A. P. 476.]
non sit necessitas. Frustra fatigant remediis ægros qui victis ratione curari possunt. Heurnius.

² Quod sæpe evenit, lib. 3. cap. 1, cum remediis ægros qui victis ratione curari possunt. Heurnius.
³ Modestus et sapiens medicus nunquam properabit ad pharmacum, nisi cogente necessitate. 41. Aphor. Prudens et pius medicus citius prius medicinalibus quam medicinis puris morbum expellere satagat.
⁴ Brev. l. c. 18. ⁵ Similitudo sæpe bonis medicis imponit. ⁶ Qui melancholicis præbent remedia non satis valida. Longiores morbi imprimis solertiam medici postulant et fidelitatem; qui enim tumultuario hos tractant vires absque ullo commodo lædunt et frangunt, &c.

to the halves, tire nature, and molest the body to no purpose. 'Tis a crabbed humour to purge, and, as *Laurentius* calls this disease, the reproach of Physicians; *Bessardus*, *flagellum medicorum*, their lash; and for that cause more carefully to be respected. Though the patient be averse, saith *Laurentius*, desire help, and refuse it again, though he neglect his own health, it behoves a good Physician not to leave him helpless. But most part they offend in that other extreme, they prescribe too much Physick, and tire out their bodies with continual potions, to no purpose. *Aëtius*, *tetrabib.* 2. 2. *ser. cap.* 90, will have them by all means therefore ¹to give some respite to nature, to leave off now and then; and *Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus*, in his consultations, found it (as he there witnesseth) often verified by experience, ²that, after a deal of Physick to no purpose, left to themselves, they have recovered. 'Tis that which *Nic. Piso*, *Donatus Altomarus*, still inculcate, *dare requiem naturæ*, to give nature rest.

SUBSECT. 2.—Concerning the Patient.

WHEN these precedent cautions are accurately kept, and that we have now got a skilful, an honest Physician to our mind, if his patient will not be conformable, and content to be ruled by him, all his endeavours will come to no good end. Many things are necessarily to be observed and continued on the patient's behalf. First that he be not too niggardly miserable of his purse, or think it too much he bestows upon himself, and to save charges endanger his health. The *Abderites*, when they sent for ³*Hippocrates*, promised him what reward he would, ⁴all the gold they had; if all the City were gold, he should have it. *Naaman the Syrian*, when he went into *Israel* to *Elisha* to be cured of his leprosy, took with him ten talents of silver, six thousand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiments (2 *Kings*, 5. 5). Another thing is, that he do not out of bashfulness conceal his grief; if ought trouble his mind, let him freely disclose it.

Stultorum incurata pudor multis ulcera celat.⁵

By that means he procures to himself much mischief, and runs

¹ Naturæ remissionem dare oportet. ² Plerique hoc morbo medicina nihil profecisse visi sunt, et sibi demissi invaluerunt. ³ Abderitani, Ep. Hippoc.

⁴ Quicquid auri apud nos est, libenter persolvemus, etiamsi tota urbs nostra aurum esset. [⁵ *Hor. Epp.* l. xvi. 24.]

into a greater inconvenience: he must be willing to be cured, and earnestly desire it. *Pars sanitatis velle sanari fuit, (Seneca.¹)* 'Tis a part of his cure to wish his own health, and not to defer it too long.

²Qui blandiendo dulce nutritiv malum,
Serò recusat ferre quod subiit jugum.

³Helleborum frustra, cum jam cutis ægra tumebit,
Poscentes videas; venienti occurrite morbo.

He that by cherishing a mischief doth provoke,
Too late at last refuseth to cast off his yoke.

When the skin swells, to seek it to appease
With hellebore is vain; meet your disease.

By this means many times, or through their ignorance in not taking notice of their grievance and danger of it, contempt, supine negligence, extenuation, wretchedness, and peevishness, they undo themselves. The Citizens, I know not of what City now, when rumour was brought their enemies were coming, could not abide to hear it; and when the plague begins in many places, and they certainly know it, they command silence and hush it up, but after they see their foes now marching to their gates, and ready to surprise them, they begin to fortify, and resist when 'tis too late; when the sickness breaks out, and can be no longer concealed, then they lament their supine negligence: 'tis no otherwise with these men. And often out of prejudice, a loathing, and distaste of Physick, they had rather die, or do worse, than take any of it. *Barbarous immanity* (⁴ *Melancthon* terms it) & *folly to be deplored, so to condemn the precepts of health, good remedies, & voluntarily to pull death, & many maladies, upon their own heads.* Though many again are in that other extreme, too profuse, suspicious, and jealous of their health, too apt to take Physick on every small occasion, to aggravate every slender passion, imperfection, impediment: if their finger do but ache, run, ride, send for a Physician, as many Gentlemen do, that are sick, without a cause, even when they will themselves, upon every toy or small discontent, and when he comes, they make it worse than it is, by amplifying that which is not. ⁵ *Hier. Capivacciu* sets it down as a common

[¹ Hipp. 249.] ² Seneca, [Hipp. 134, 135]. ³ Pers. 3. Sat. [63, 64.] ⁴ De animâ. Barbarâ tamen immanitate et deplorandâ insitiâ contemnunt præcepta sanitatis; mortem et morbos ultro accersunt. ⁵ Consult. 173. è Scoltzio, Melanch. Ægrorum hoc fere proprium est, ut prævia dicant esse symptomata quam revera sunt.

fault of all *melancholy persons*, to say their symptoms are greater than they are, to help themselves: and, which ¹ *Mercurialis* notes, *consil.* 53, to be more troublesome to their Physicians than other ordinary patients, that they may have change of Physick.

A third thing to be required in a patient is confidence, to be of good cheer, and have sure hope that his Physician can help him. ² *Damascen*, the *Arabian*, requires likewise in the Physician himself, that he be confident he can cure him, otherwise his Physick will not be effectual, and promise withal that he will certainly help him, make him believe so at least. ³ *Galeottus* gives this reason, because the form of health is contained in the Physician's mind, and, as *Galen* holds, ⁴ *confidence and hope do more good than Physick*; he cures most in whom most are confident. *Axiochus*, sick almost to death, at the very sight of *Socrates* recovered his former health. ⁵ *Paracelsus* assigned it for an only cause why *Hippocrates* was so fortunate in his cures, not for any extraordinary skill he had, ⁶ but because the common people had a most strong conceit of his worth. To this of confidence we may add perseverance, obedience, and constancy, not to change his Physician, or dislike him upon every toy; for he that so doth, (saith ⁷ *Janus Damascen*), or consults with many, falls into many errors; or that useth many medicines. It was a chief caveat of ⁸ *Seneca* to his friend *Lucilius*, that he should not alter his Physician, or prescribed Physick: *nothing hinders health more; a wound can never be cured that hath several plasters.* *Crato*, *consil.* 186, taxeth all melancholy persons of this fault: ⁹ *'tis proper to them, if things fall not out to their mind, and that they have not present ease, to seek another and another, (as they do commonly that have sore eyes), twenty, one after another, and they still promise all to cure them, try a thousand remedies; and by this means they increase their malady, make it most dangerous and difficile to be cured. They try many*

¹ Melancholici plerumque medicis sunt molesti, ut alia aliis adjungant. ² Oportet infirmo imprimere salutem, utcunque promittere, etsi ipse desperet. Nullum medicamentum efficax, nisi medicus etiam fuerit fortis imaginationis. ³ De promisc. doct. cap. 15. Quoniam sanitatis formam animi medici continent. ⁴ Spes et confidentia plus valent quam medicina. [⁵ See Plato, *Axiochus*.] ⁶ Felicius in medicina ob fidem et amicorum. ⁷ Aphoris. 89. Aeger, qui plurimos consulit medicos, plerumque in errorem singulorum cadit. ⁸ Nihil ita sanitatem impedit ac remediorum crebra mutatio. Non venit vulnus ad cicatricem, in quo crebro medicamenta tentantur. [Ep. 2.] ⁹ Melancholicorum proprium, quum ex eorum arbitrio non fit subita mutatio in melius, alterare medicos, qui quidvis, &c.

(saith ¹*Montanus*) and profit by none: & for this cause, *cons.* 24, he enjoins his patient, before he take him in hand, ²*perseverance & sufferance*, for in such a small time no great matter can be effected, & upon that condition he will administer *Physick*, otherwise all his endeavour & counsel would be to small purpose. And, in his 31st counsel for a notable Matron, he tells her, ³*if she will be cured, she must be of a most abiding patience, faithful obedience, and singular perseverance*; if she remit or despair, she can expect or hope for no good success. *Cons.* 230, for an *Italian Abbot*, he makes it one of the greatest reasons why this disease is so incurable, ⁴*because the parties are so restless and impatient, and will therefore have him that intends to be eased to take Physick not for a month, a year, but to apply himself to their prescriptions all the days of his life*. Last of all, it is required that the patient be not too bold to practise upon himself, without an approved Physician's consent, or to try conclusions, if he read a receipt in a book; for so many grossly mistake, and do themselves more harm than good. That which is conducing to one man, in one case, the same time is opposite to another. ⁵An Ass and a Mule went over a brook, the one laden with salt, the other with wool: the Mule's pack was wet by chance, the salt melted, his burden the lighter, and he thereby much eased: he told the Ass, who, thinking to speed as well, wet his pack likewise at the next water, but it was much the heavier, he quite tired. So one thing may be good and bad to several parties, upon diverse occasions. *Many things* (saith ⁶*Penottus*) are written in our Books, which seem to the Reader to be excellent remedies, but they that make use of them are often deceived, and take for *Physick* poison. I remember, in *Valleriola's* observations, a story of one *John Baptist*, a *Neapolitan*, that, finding by chance a pamphlet in *Italian* written in praise of hellebore, would needs adventure on himself, and took one dram for one scruple, and, had not he been sent for, the poor fellow

¹ Consil. 31. Dum ad varia se conferunt, nullo prosunt. ² Imprimis hoc statuere oportet, requiri perseverantiam et tolerantiam. Exiguo enim tempore nihil ex. &c. ³ Si curari vult, opus est pertinaci perseverantia, fideli obedientia, et patientia singulari; si tædet aut desperet, nullum habebit effectum. ⁴ Ægritudine amittunt patientiam, et inde morbi incurabiles. ⁵ Non ad mensem aut annum, sed oportet toto vitæ curriculo curationi operam dare. ⁶ Camerarius, Emb. 55. cent. 2. ⁷ Præfat. de nar. med. In libellis quæ vulgo versantur apud literatos, incautiores multa legunt, à quibus decipiuntur, eximia illis, sed portentosum hauriunt venenum.

had poisoned himself. From whence he concludes, out of *Damascenus*, 2 & 3. *Aphor.* ¹ *that, without exquisite knowledge, to work out of books is most dangerous : how unsavoury a thing it is to believe writers, and take upon trust, as this patient perceived by his own peril.* I could recite such another example of mine own knowledge of a friend of mine, that, finding a receipt in *Brassica*, would needs take hellebore in substance, and try it on his own person ; but, had not some of his familiars come to visit him by chance, he had by his indiscretion hazarded himself. Many such I have observed. These are those ordinary cautions, which I should think fit to be noted, and he that shall keep them, as ² *Montanus* saith, shall surely be much eased, if not thoroughly cured.

SUBJECT. 3^d—Concerning Physick.

PHYSICK itself in the last place is to considered ; *for the Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them*, *Ecclus* 38. 4. and ver. 8. *of such doth the Apothecary make a confection, &c.* Of these medicines there be divers and infinite kinds, Plants, Metals, Animals, &c., and those of several natures ; some good for one, hurtful to another, some noxious in themselves, corrected by art, very wholesome and good, simples, mixt, &c. and therefore left to be managed by discreet and skilful Physicians, and thence applied to man's use. To this purpose they have invented method, and several rules of art, to put these remedies in order, for their particular ends. Physick (as *Hippocrates* defines it) is naught else but ³ *addition and subtraction* ; and, as it is required in all other diseases, so in this of melancholy it ought to be most accurate, it being (⁴ as *Mercurialis* acknowledgeth) so common an affection in these our times, and therefore fit to be understood. Several prescripts and methods I find in several men ; some take upon them to cure all maladies with one Medicine severally applied, as that *Panacea*, *Aurum potable*,⁵ so

¹ Operari ex libris, absque cognitione et solerti ingenio, periculosum est. Unde monemur, quam insipidum scriptis auctoribus credere, quod hic suo didicit periculo.

² Consil 23. Hæc omnia si, quo ordine decet, egerit, vel curabitur, vel certe minus afficietur. ³ Fuchsius, cap. 2. lib. 1. ⁴ In pract. med. Hæc affectio nostris temporibus frequentissima ; ergo maximè pertinet ad nos hujus curationem intelligere.

⁵ Potable gold. See Chaucer's C. T. Prol. 445, and Shakspeare Henry IV. A. iv. Sc. v. 161—163.]

much controverted in these days, *Herba Solis*, &c. *Paracelsus* reduceth all diseases to four principal heads, to whom *Severinus*, *Ravelascus*, *Leo Suavius*, and others, adhere and imitate: those are *Leprosy*, *Gout*, *Dropsy*, *Falling-sickness*: to which they reduce the 1st; as to *Leprosy*, Ulcers, Itches, Furfurs, Scabs, &c. to *Gout*, Stone, Cholick, Tooth-ache, Head-ache, &c. to *Dropsy*, Agues, Jaundice, Cachexia, &c. To the *Falling-sickness* belong Palsy, Vertigo, Cramps, Convulsions, Incubus, Apoplexy, &c. ¹ *If any of these four principal be cured (saith Ravelascus) all the inferior are cured*, and the same remedies commonly serve: but this is too general, and by some contradicted. For this peculiar disease of Melancholy, of which I am now to speak, I find several cures, several methods and prescripts. They that intend the practick cure of Melancholy, saith *Duretus* in his notes to *Hollerius*, set down nine peculiar scopes or ends; *Savonarola* prescribes seven especial canons. *Ælianus Montaltus*, cap. 26, *Faventigus* in his *Empiricks*, *Hercules de Saxoniâ*, &c., have their several injunctions & rules, all tending to one end. The ordinary is threefold, which I mean to follow, *Διαίτητική*, *Pharmaceutica*, and *Chirurgica*, Diet or Living, Apothecary, Chirurgery, which *Wecker*, *Crato*, *Guianerius*, &c. and most prescribe; of which I will insist, and speak in their order.

SECT. II.—MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—*Diet rectified in Substance.*

DIET, *Διαίτητική*, *Victus*, or Living, according to ² *Fuchsius* and others, comprehend those six non-natural things, which I have before specified, are especial causes, and, being rectified, a sole or chief part of the cure. ³ *Johannes Arculanus*, cap. 16. in 9. *Rhasis*, accounts the rectifying of these six a sufficient cure. *Guianerius*, *Tract.* 15. cap. 9, calls them *propriam et primam curam*, the principal cure: so doth *Montanus*, *Crato*, *Mercivalis*, *Altomarus*, &c. first to be tried, *Lemnius*, *instit.* cap. 22, names them the hinges of our health, ⁴ no hope of recovery without them. *Rei-*

¹ Si aliquis horum morborum summus sanatur, sanantur omnes inferiores.

² Instit. cap. 8. sect. 1. Victus nomine non tam cibus et potus, sed aer, exercitatio, somnus, vigilia, et reliquæ res sex non-naturales, continentur. ³ Sufficit plerumque regimen rerum sex non-naturalium. ⁴ Et in his potissima sanitas consistit.

nerus Solenander, in his seventh consultation for a Spanish young Gentlewoman, that was so melancholy she abhorred all company, and would not sit at table with her familiar friends, prescribes this Physick above the rest, ¹ no good to be done without it. ² *Aretæus, lib. 1. cap. 7*, an old Physician, is of opinion, that this is enough of itself, if the party be not too far gone in sickness. ³ *Crato*, in a consultation of his for a Noble patient, tells them plainly, that, if his Highness will keep but a good diet, ⁴ he will warrant him his former health. ⁵ *Montanus, Consil. 27*, for a Noble-man of *France*, admonisheth his Lordship to be most circumspect in his diet, or else all his other Physick will ⁶ be to small purpose. The same injunction I find *verbatim in J. Cæsar Claudinus, Respon. 34, Scoltzii consil. 183, Trallianus, cap. 16. lib. 1. Lælius à Ponte Eugubinus* often brags that he hath done more cures in this kind by rectification of Diet than all other Physick besides. So that, in a word, I may say to most melancholy men, as the Fox said to the Weasel that could not get out of the garner, *Macra cavum repetes [artum] quem macra subisti*,⁷ the six non-natural things caused it, and they must cure it. Which, howsoever I treat of, as proper to the Meridian of Melancholy, yet nevertheless that which is here said with him in ⁸ *Tully*, though writ especially for the good of his friends at *Tarentum & Sicily*, yet it will generally serve ⁹ most other diseases, and help them likewise, if it be observed.

Of these six non-natural things the first is Diet, properly so called, which consists in meat and drink, in which we must consider substance, quantity, quality, and that opposite to the precedent. In substance, such meats are generally commended which are ¹⁰ *moist, easy of digestion, and not apt to engender wind, not fried, not roasted, but sod*, (saith *Valescus, Altomarus, Piso, &c.*) *hot and moist, and of good nourishment*; *Crato, consil. 21. lib. 2*, admits roast

¹ Nihil hic agendum sine exquisita vivendi ratione, &c. ² Si recens malum sit, ad pristinum habitum recuperandum; aliâ medelâ non est opus. ³ Consil. 90. lib. 2. Si Celsitudo tua rectam victûs rationem, &c. ⁴ Moneo, Domine, ut sis prudens ad victum, sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibentur. ⁵ Omnia remedia irrita et vana sine his. Novistis me plerosque ita laborantes victu potius quam medicamentis curasse. ⁶ [Hor. Epp. i. vii. 33. When you are again lean, seek an exit through the hole by which lean you entered.] ⁷ [Book] i. De Finibus. [cap. iii. § 7.] Tarentinis et Siculis. ⁸ Modo non multum elongentur. ⁹ Lib. 1. de melan. cap. 7. Calidi et humidi cibi, concoctu faciles, flatûs exsortes, elixi, non assi, neque cibi fixi sint.

meat,¹ if the burned and scorched *superficies*, the brown we call it, be pared off. *Salvianus*, *lib. 2. cap. 1.*, cries out on cold and dry meats; ² young flesh and tender is approved, as of Kid, Rabbits, Chickens, Veal, Mutton, Capons, Hens, Partridge, Pheasant, Quails, and all mountain birds, which are so familiar in some parts of *Africa*, and in *Italy*, and, as ³ *Dublinius* reports, the common food of *Boys* and *Clowns* in *Palestine*. *Galen* takes exception at Mutton, but without question he means that rammy Mutton which is in *Turkey* and *Asia Minor*, which have those great fleshy tails of 48 pound weight, as *Vertomannus* witnesseth, *navig. lib. 2. cap. 5.* The lean of fat meat is best, and all manner of broths, and pottage, with borage, lettuce, and such wholesome herbs, are excellent good, specially of a Cock boiled, all spoon meat. *Arabians* commend brains, but ⁴ *Laurentius*, *c. 8.* excepts against them, and so do many others. ⁵ Eggs are justified as a nutritive wholesome meat, Butter and Oil may pass, but with some limitation; so ⁶ *Crato* confines it, and to some men sparingly at set times, or in sauce, & so sugar & honey are approved. ⁷ All sharp and sour sauces must be avoided, and spices, or at least seldom used: and so saffron sometimes in broth may be tolerated; but these things may be more freely used, as the temperature of the party is hot or cold, or as he shall find inconvenience by them. The thinnest, whitest, smallest Wine is best, not thick, nor strong; and so of Beer, the middling is the fittest. Bread of good wheat, pure, well purged from the bran, is preferred; *Laurentius*, *cap. 8.* would have it kneaded with rain water, if it may be gotten.

Pure, thin, light water by all means use, of good smell and taste, like to the air in sight, such as is soon hot, soon cold, and which *Hippocrates* so much approves, if at least it may be had. Rain water is purest, so that it fall not down in great drops, and be used forthwith, for it quickly putrefies. Next to it fountain water that riseth in the East, and runneth Eastward, from a quick running spring, from flinty, chalky, gravelly grounds: & the longer a river runneth, it is commonly the purest; though many springs do yield the best water at their fountains. The waters in hotter

¹ Si interna tantum pulpa devoretur, non superficies torrida ab igne. ² Bene nutrientes cibi; tenella ætas multum valet; carnes non virosæ, nec pingues. ³ Hodepor. peregr. Hierosol. ⁴ Inimica stomacho. ⁵ Not fried, or buttered, but potched. ⁶ Consil. 16. Non improbat butyrum et oleum, si tamen plus quam par sit, non profundatur: sacchari et mellis usus, utiliter ad ciborum condimenta comprobatur. ⁷ Mercurialis, consil. 88. Acerba omnia evitentur.

Countries, as in *Turkey, Persia, India*, within the *Tropicks*, are frequently purer than ours in the North, more subtile, thin, and lighter (as our Merchants observe) by four ounces in a pound, pleasanter to drink, as good as our Beer, and some of them, as *Choaspes* in *Persia*, preferred by the *Persian Kings* before Wine itself.¹

² Clitorio quicunque sitim de fonte levârit,
Vina fugit, gaudetque meris abstemius undis.

Many rivers, I deny not, are muddy still, white, thick, like those in *China, Nile* in *Egypt, Tiber* at *Rome*, but after they be settled two or three days, defecate and clear, very commodious, useful and good. Many make use of deep wells, as of old in the Holy Land, lakes, cisterns, when they can not be better provided; to fetch it in carts or gondolas, as in *Venice*, or Camels' backs, as at *Cairo* in *Egypt*; ³ *Radzivilius* observed 8,000 Camels daily there, employed about that business. Some keep it in Trunks,⁴ as in the *East Indies*, made four-square with descending steps, and 'tis not amiss: for I would not have any one so nice as that *Grecian Calis*, sister to *Nicephorus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, and married to *Dominicus Silvius*, Duke of *Venice*,⁵ that, out of incredible wantonness, *communi aquâ uti volebat*, would use no vulgar water; but she died *tantâ* (saith mine author) *foetidissimi puris copiâ*, of so fulsome a disease, that no water could wash her clean. ⁶ *Plato* would not have a traveller lodge in a City, that is not governed by laws, or hath not a quick stream running by it; *illyd enim animum, hoc corrumpit valetudinem*, one corrupts the body, the other the mind. But this is more than needs, too much curiosity is naught, in time of necessity any water is allowed. Howsoever pure water is best, and which (as *Pindar* holds⁷) is better than gold; an especial ornament it is, and *very commodious to a City* (according to ⁸ *Vegetius*) *when fresh springs are included within the walls*, as at *Corinth*, in

[¹ See Plutarch, on Exile, § vi.] ² Ovid. Met. lib. 15. [322, 323. Whoever has once slaked his thirst at the spring in Clitor, avoids wine, and abstemious delights in pure water only.] ³ Peregr. Hier. [⁴ I had thought *tanks* might be the right reading, but I find from Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words that *trunk* in Sussex means an underground drain. Will that help us? And Bailey's Dictionary gives, as one meaning of trunk, a wooden pipe for the conveyance of water.] ⁵ The Dukes of Venice were then permitted to marry. ⁶ De Legibus. [vi. p. 76r, is the passage probably in Burton's mind.] [⁷ Olymp. i. 1.] ⁸ Lib. 4. cap. 10. Magna urbis utilitas cum perennes fontes muris includuntur; quod si natura non præstat, effodiendi, &c.

the midst of the town almost, there was *arx altissima scatens fontibus*, a goodly mount full of fresh-water springs: *if nature afford them not, they must be had by art*. It is a wonder to read of those ¹ stupend Aqueducts; and infinite cost hath been bestowed in *Rome* of old, *Constantinople*, *Carthage*, *Alexandria*, and such populous Cities, to convey good and wholesome waters: read ² *Frontinus*, *Lipsius*, *de admir.* ³ *Plinius*, *lib. 3. cap. 11*, *Strabo* in his *Geogr.* ⁴ That Aqueduct of *Claudius* ⁵ was most eminent, fetched upon arches 15 miles, every arch 109 foot high: they had 14 such other Aqueducts, besides lakes and cisterns, 700, as I take it; ⁶ every house had private pipes & channels to serve them for their use. *Peter Gillius*, in his accurate description of *Constantinople*, speaks of an old cistern which he went down to see, 336 foot long, 180 foot broad, built of marble, covered over with arch-work, and sustained by 336 pillars, twelve foot asunder, and in 11 rows, to contain sweet water. Infinite cost in channels and cisterns, from the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, hath been formerly bestowed, to the admiration of these times; ⁷ their cisterns so curiously cemented and composed, that a beholder would take them to be all of one stone: when the foundation is laid, and cistern made, their house is half built. That *Segovian* Aqueduct in *Spain* is much wondered at in these days, ⁸ upon three rows of pillars, one above another, conveying sweet water to every house: but each City almost is full of such Aqueducts. Amongst the rest ⁹ he is eternally to be commended, that brought that new stream to the North side of *London* at his own charge: and *Mr. Otho Nicholson*, founder of our Water-works and elegant Conduit in *Oxford*. So much have all times attributed to this element, to be conveniently provided of it. Although *Galen* hath taken exceptions at such waters which run through leaden pipes, *ob cerussam quæ in iis generatur*, for that unctuous ceruse, which causeth dysenteries and fluxes; yet, as *Alsarius Crucius* ¹⁰ of *Genoa* well answers, it is opposite to common experience. If that were true, most of our *Italian* cities,

¹ Opera Gigantum dicit aliquis. ² De Aquæduct. ³ Curtius Fons à quadragésimo lapide in urbem opere arcuato perductus. *Plin.* 36. 15. [⁴ Book v. cap. iii. § 8.] [⁵ See Frontinus, De Aquæduct. cap. 5.] [⁶ Quæque domus Romæ fistulas habebat et canales, &c. [*Strabo*, *Geogr.* Book v. cap. iii. § 8.] ⁷ Lib. 2. cap. 20. *Jod. a Meggen*. cap. 15. pereg. *Hier. Bellonius*. ⁸ *Cypr. Echovius* delic. *Hisp.* Aqua profluens inde in omnes ferè domos ducitur, in puteis quoque æstivo tempore frigidissima conservatur. ⁹ Sir Hugh Middleton, Baronet. ¹⁰ De quæsitis med. cent. fol. 354.

Montpelier in France, with infinite others, would find this inconvenience, but there is no such matter. For private families, in what sort they should furnish themselves, let them consult with *P. Crescentius, de Agric. l. 1. c. 4, Pamphilus Hirelacus*, and the rest.

Amongst fishes, those are most allowed of that live in gravelly or sandy waters, Pikes, Perch, Trout, Gudgeon, Smelts, Flounders, &c. *Hippolytus Salvianus* takes exception at Carp, but ¹ *Dubravius* dare boldly say, with ² *Dubravius*, it is an excellent meat, if it come not from ³ muddy pools, that it retain not an unsavoury taste. *Epinaceus Marinus* ⁴ is much commended by *Oribasius, Aëtius*, and most of our late writers.

⁴ *Crato, consil. 21. lib. 2*, censures all manner of fruits, as subject to putrefaction, yet tolerable at some times; after meals, at second course, they keep down vapours, & have their use. Sweet fruits are best, as sweet Cherries, Plums, sweet Apples, Pear-mains, and Pippins, which *Laurentius* extols, as having a peculiar property against this disease, and *Plater* magnifies; *omnibus modis appropriata conveniunt*, but they must be corrected for their windiness; ripe Grapes are good, and Raisins of the Sun, Musk-melons well corrected, and sparingly used. Figs are allowed, and Almonds blanched. *Trallianus* discommends Figs, ⁵ *Salvianus* Olives and Capers, which ⁶ others especially like of, and so of pistick nuts. ⁷ *Montanus* and *Mercurialis*, out of *Avenzoar*, admit Peaches, ⁸ Pears, and Apples baked, after meals, only corrected with sugar and aniseed or fennel-seed, and so they may be profitably taken, because they strengthen the stomach, and keep down vapours. The like may be said of preserved Cherries, Plums, Marmelade of Plums, Quinces, &c. but not to drink after them. ⁹ Pomegranates, Lemons, Oranges, are tolerated, if they be not too sharp.

¹ De piscibus lib. Habent omnes in lautitiis, modò non sint à coenoso loco.

² De pisc. c. 1. 7. Plurimum præstat ad utilitatem et jucunditatem. Idem *Trallianus*, lib. 1. c. 16. Pisces petrosi, et molles carne. [³ The sea-hedgehog.]

⁴ Etsi omnes putredini sunt obnoxii, ubi secundis mensis, incepto jam priore, devorentur, commodi succi prorsunt, qui dulcedine sunt præditi, ut dulcia cerasa, poma, &c. ⁵ Lib. 2. cap. 1. ⁶ *Montanus*, consil. 24. [⁷ See *pistachio* in

Latham's Edition of Johnson's Dictionary.] ⁸ Pyra quæ grato sunt sapore, cocta mala, poma tosta, et saccharo vel anisi semine conspersa, utiliter statim à prandio vel à cœna sumi possunt, eo quod ventriculum roborent, et vapores caput petentes reprimant. *Mont.* ⁹ *Punica mala aurantia* commode permittuntur, modò non sint austera et acida.

¹ *Crato* will admit of no herbs, but Borage, Bugloss, Endive, Fennel, Aniseed, Balm; *Calenus* and *Arnoldus* tolerate Lettuce, Spinage, Beets, &c. The same *Crato* will allow no roots at all to be eaten. Some approve of Potatoes, Parsnips, but all corrected for wind. No raw sallats; but, as *Laurentius* prescribes, in broths; and so *Crato* commends many of them: or to use Borage, Hops, Balm, steeped in their ordinary drink. ² *Avenzoar* magnifies the juice of a Pomegranate, if it be sweet, and especially Rose-water, which he would have to be used in every dish, which they put in practice in those hot countries about *Damascus*, where (if we may believe the relations of *Vertomannus*) many hogsheads of Rose-water are to be sold in the market at once, it is in so great request with them.

SUBJECT. 2.—*Diet rectified in Quantity.*

MAN alone, saith ³ *Cardan*, eats and drinks without appetite, and useth all his pleasure without necessity, *animæ vitio*,⁴ and thence come many inconveniences unto him. For there is no meat whatsoever, though otherwise wholesome and good, but, if unseasonably taken, or immoderately used, more than the stomach can well bear, it will ingender crudity, and do much harm. Therefore ⁵ *Crato* adviseth his patient to eat but twice a day, and that at his set meals, by no means to eat without an appetite, or upon a full stomach, and to put seven hours difference betwixt dinner and supper. Which rule if we did observe in our Colleges, it would be much better for our healths. But custom, that tyrant, so prevails, that, contrary to all good order and rules of Physick, we scarce admit of five. If, after seven hours' tarrying, he shall have no stomach, let him defer his meal, or eat very little at his ordinary time of repast. This very counsel was given by *Prosper Calenus* to *Cardinal Cæsius*, labouring of this disease; and ⁶ *Platerus* prescribes it to a patient of his, to be most severely kept. *Guianerius* admits of three meals a day, but *Montanus*, *consil.* 23. *pro Ab. Italo*, ties him precisely to two. And, as he

¹ Olera omnia præter boraginem, buglossum, intybum, feniculum, anisum, melissum, vitari debent. ² Mercurialis, præct. Med. ³ Lib. 2. de com. Solus homo edit bibitique, &c. [4 In consequence of his vicious mind.] ⁵ Consil. 21. 18. Si plus ingeratur quam par est, et ventriculus tolerare possit, nocet, et cruditates generat, &c. ⁶ Observat. lib. 1. Assuescat bis in die cibos sumere, certâ semper horâ.

must not eat overmuch, so he may not absolutely fast; for, as *Celsus* contends, *lib. 1. Jacchinus*, 15. *in. 9. Rhasis*,¹ repletion and inanition may both do harm in two contrary extremes. Moreover that which he doth eat must be well² *chewed*, and not hastily gobbled, for that causeth crudity and wind; and by all means to eat no more than he can well digest. *Some think* (saith³ *Trincavellus*, *lib. 11. cap. 29, de curand. part. hum.*) *the more they eat the more they nourish themselves*: eat and live, as the proverb is; not *knowing that only repairs man which is well concocted, not that which is devoured*. Melancholy men most part have good⁴ *appetites*, but ill digestion, and for that cause they must be sure to rise with an appetite: and that which *Socrates* and *Disarius*, the Physicians in⁵ *Macrobius*, so much require, *S. Hierome* enjoins *Rusticus*, to eat and drink no more than will⁶ satisfy hunger and thirst. *Lessius* the Jesuit holds 12, 13, or 14 ounces, or in our Northern Countries 16 *at most*, (for all students, weaklings, and such as lead an idle sedentary life), *of meat, bread, &c. a fit proportion for a whole day, and as much or little more of drink*. Nothing pesters the body and mind sooner than to be still fed, to eat and ingurgitate⁷ beyond all measure, as many do. *By overmuch eating and continual feasts they stifle nature, and choke up themselves; which, had they lived coarsely, or like galley-slaves been tied to an oar, might have happily prolonged many fair years.*

A great inconvenience comes by variety of dishes, which causeth the precedent distemperature,¹⁰ *than which* (saith *Avicenna*) *nothing is worse; to feed on diversity of meats, or overmuch*, Sertorius—like in *lucem canare*,¹¹ [to sup till daylight,] and, as commonly they do in *Muscovy* and *Iceland*, to prolong their meals all day long, or all night. Our Northern Countries offend especially in this, and we in this Island (*ampliter viventes in prandiis & cœnis*, as¹² *Polydore* notes)

¹ Ne plus ingerat cavendum quàm ventriculus ferre potest; semperque surgat à mensa non satur.

² Siquidem qui semimansum velociter ingerunt cibum ventriculo laborem inferunt, et flatum maximos promovent. Crato.

³ Quidam maximè comedere nituntur, putantes eà ratione se vires refecturos; ignorantes, non ea quæ ingerunt posse vires reficere, sed quæ probè concoquant.

⁴ Multa appetunt, pauca digerunt. ⁵ Saturnal. lib. 7. cap. 4. ⁶ Modicus et temperatus cibus et carni et animæ utilis est. [Epistle 125.]

⁷ Hygiasticon reg. Unciæ 14 vel 16 per diem sufficient, computato pane, carne ovīs, vel aliis obsoniis, et totidem vel paulò plures unciæ potūs. ⁸ [= drink]. ⁹ Idem, reg. 27. Plures in domibus suis brevi tempore pascentes extinguuntur, qui, si trirēibus vincti fuissent, aut gregario pane pasti, sani et incolumes in longam ætatem vitam prorogassent.

¹⁰ Nihil deterius quàm diversa nutrientia simul adjungere, et comedendi tempus prorogare.

[¹¹ See Martial *vij. 10. 5.* ¹² Lib. 1. hist.

are most liberal feeders, but to our own hurt. ¹ *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus. Excess of meat breedeth sickness, & gluttony causeth cholerick diseases: by surfeiting many perish, but he that dieteth himself prolongeth his life*, Ecclus. 37. 29, 30. We account it a great glory for a man to have his table daily furnished with variety of meats: but hear the Physician, he pulls thee by the ear as thou sittest, & teach thee, ² *that nothing can be more noxious to thy health than such variety & plenty*. Temperance is a bridle of gold, & he that can use it aright, ³ *ego non summis viris comparo, sed simillimum Deo judico*, is liker a God than a man: for as it will transform a beast to a man again, so it will make a man a God. To preserve thine honour, health, and to avoid therefore all those inflations, torments, obstructions, crudities, and diseases, that come by a full diet, the best way is to ⁴ *feed sparingly of one or two dishes at most, to have ventrem bene moratum*, as *Seneca* ⁵ calls it, ⁶ *to choose one of many, & to feed on that alone*, as *Crato* adviseth his patient. The same counsel ⁷ *Prosper Calenus* gives to *Cardinal Cæsius*, to use a moderate & simple diet: and, though his table be Jovially furnished by reason of his state & guests, yet for his own part to single out some one savoury dish and feed on it. The same is incalculated by ⁸ *Crato, consil. 9. l. 2*, to a Noble Personage affected with this grievance, he would have his Highness to dine or sup alone, without all his honourable attendance & courtly company, with a private friend or so, ⁹ *a dish or two, a cup of Rhenish wine, &c.* *Montanus, consil. 24*, for a Noble Matron, enjoins her one dish, and by no means to drink betwixt meals; the like, *consil. 229*, or not to eat till he be an hungry; which rule *Berengarius* did most strictly observe, as *Hilbertus, Cenomanensis Episc.* ¹⁰ writes in his life;

—cui non fuit unquam
Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem;

and which all temperate men do constantly keep. It is a frequent

¹ Hor. [Od. i. xxxviii. 1. I hate the elaborate feasting of the Persians.]
² Ciborum varietate et copia in eadem mensa nihil nocentius homini ad salutem. Fr. Valeriola, observ. l. 2. cap. 6. ³ Tull. orat. pro M. Marcel. [c. iii. § 8.]
⁴ Nullus cibum sumere debet, nisi stomachus sit vacuus. Gordon. lib. med. l. 1. c. 11. [⁵ Epistle 123. A healthy stomach.] ⁶ E multis eduliis unum elige, relictisque cæteris ex eo comede. ⁷ L. de atra bile. Simplex sit cibus, et non varius; quod licet dignitati tuæ ob convivas difficile videatur, &c. ⁸ Celisus tua prandeat sola, absque apparatu Aulico; contentus sit Illustrissimus Princeps duobus tantum ferculis, vinoque Rhenano solum in mensa utatur. ⁹ Semper intra satietatem à mensa recedat, uno ferculo contentus. ¹⁰ [10 Bishop of Mans in France.]

solemnity still used with us, when friends meet, to go to the ale-house or tavern, they are not sociable otherwise : and, if they visit one another's houses, they must both eat and drink. I reprehend it not moderately used, but to some men nothing can be more offensive ; they had better, I speak it with Saint ¹*Ambrose*, pour so much water in their shoes.

It much avails likewise to keep good order in our diet, ²*eat liquid things first, broths, fish, and such meats as are sooner corrupted in the stomach ; harder meats of digestion must come last. Crato would have the supper less than dinner, which Cardan, contradict. Lib. 1. Tract 5. contradict. 18, disallows, and that by the authority of Galen, 7. art. curat. cap. 6, and for four reasons he will have the supper biggest. I have read many Treatises to this purpose, I know not how it may concern some few sick men, but for my part, generally for all, I should subscribe to that custom of the Romans, to make a sparing dinner, and a liberal supper ; all their preparation and invitation was still at supper, no mention of dinner. Many reasons I could give, but, when all is said pro and con, ³Cardan's rule is best, to keep that we are accustomed unto, though it be naught ; and to follow our disposition and appetite in some things is not amiss, to eat sometimes of a dish which is hurtful, if we have an extraordinary liking to it. Alexander Severus loved Hares and Apples above all other meats, as ⁴*Lampridius* relates in his life : one Pope Pork, another Peacock, &c. what harm came of it ? I conclude, our own experience is the best Physician ; that diet which is most propitious to one is often pernicious to another ; such is the variety of palates, humours, and temperatures, let every man observe, and be a law unto himself. *Tiberius* in ⁵*Tacitus* did laugh at all such, that after 30 years of age would ask counsel of others concerning matters of diet ; I say the same.*

These few rules of diet he that keeps shall surely find great ease and speedy remedy by it. It is a wonder to relate that prodigious temperance of some Hermits, Anachorites, and Fathers of the Church. He that shall but read their lives, written by *Hierom*,

¹ Lib. de Elia et Jejunio. [cap. xiv. § 51.] Multò melius in terram vina fudisses.
² Crato. Multum refert non ignorare qui cibi priores, &c. liquida præcedant carnum jura, pisces, fructus, &c. Cæna brevior sit prandio. ³ Tract. 6. contradict. 1. lib. 1. ⁴ Super omnia quotidianum leporem habuit, et pomis indulxit. [cap. 37.] ⁵ Annal. 6. [52.] Ridere solèbat eos, qui, post tricesimum ætatis annum, ad interoscenda corpori suo utilia vel noxia alicujus consilii indigerent.

Athanasius, &c. how abstemious Heathens have been in this kind, those *Curii* and *Fabricii*, those old Philosophers, as *Pliny* records *lib. 11. cap. 42*, *Xenophon*, *lib. 1. cap. iii § § 14, 15*, *de vit. Socrat.* Empiricks and Kings, as *Nicephorus* relates, *Eccles. Hist. lib. 18. cap. 8*, *Mauritius*, *Lodovicus Pius*, &c. and that admirable¹ example of *Lodovicus Cornarus*, a Patrician of *Venice*,² cannot but admire the t. This have they done voluntarily, and in health; what shall these private men do that are visited with sickness, and necessarily enjoined to recover and continue their health? It is a hard thing to observe a strict diet, *et qui medicè vivit miserè vivit*,⁴ as the saying is, *quale hoc ipsum erit vivere, his si privatus fueris?* as good be buried, as so much debarred of his appetite; *excessit medicina malum*,⁵ the physick is more troublesome than the disease, so he complained in the Poet, so thou thinkest: yet he that loves himself will easily endure this little misery, to avoid a greater inconvenience; *è malis minimum*,⁶ better do this than do worse. And, as ⁷*Tully* holds, *better be a temperate old man, than a lascivious youth*. 'Tis the only sweet thing, (which he adviseth), so to moderate ourselves, that we may have *senectutem in juventute, ei in juventute senectutem*,⁸ be youthful in our old age, staid in our youth, discreet and temperate in both.

MEMB. II.

Retention and Evacuation rectified.

I HAVE declared in the causes what harm costiveness hath done in procuring this disease; if it be so noxious, the opposite must needs be good, or mean at least, as indeed it is, and to this cure necessarily required; *maximè conducit*, saith *Montaltus*, *cap. 27*, it very much avails. ⁹*Altomarus*, *cap. 7*, commends walking in a morning into some fair green pleasant fields, but by all means first, by art or nature, he will have these ordinary excrements evacuated.

¹ A Lessio edit. 1614. [² See a paper of Addison's, *Spectator*, No. 195.]
³ *Ægyptii olim omnes morbos curabant vomitu et jejuniò.* *Bohemus*, *lib. 1. cap. 5.*
⁴ And he who lives by rule lives miserably.] [⁵ *Lucan*, ii. 142, memoriter. *Libri modum.*] [⁶ *Cic. de Off. iii. 1. 3.* Of evils choose the least.] [⁷ *Cat. Major.* § 29, memoriter.] *Melior conditio senis viventis ex præscripto artis medicæ, quam adolescentis luxuriosi.* [⁸ *Cic. De Senectute*, § 32, memoriter.] [⁹ *Debet per amœnia exerceri, et loca viridia, excretis prius arte vel natura alvi excrementis.*

Piso calls it *beneficium ventris*, the benefit, help, or pleasure of the belly, for it doth much ease it. *Laurentius*, cap. 8. consil. 21. l. 2, prescribes it once a day at least : where nature is defective, art must supply, by those lenitive electuaries, suppositories, condite prunes, turpentine, Clysters, as shall be shewed. *Prosper Calenus*, lib. de atra bile, commends Clysters in hypochondriacal melancholy, still to be used as occasion serves. ¹*Peter Cnemandr*, in a consultation of his *pro hypochondriaco*, will have his patient continually loose, and to that end sets down there many forms of Potions and Clysters. *Mercurialis*, consil. 88, if this benefit come not of its own accord, prescribes ²Clysters in the first place : so doth *Montanus*, consil. 24. consil. 31. et 229, he commends turpentine to that purpose : the same he ingeminates, consil. 230, for an Italian Abbot. 'Tis very good to wash his hands & face often, to shift his clothes, to have fair linen about him, to be decently and comely attired, for *sordes vitiant*, nastiness defiles, and dejects any man that is so voluntarily, or compelled by want, it dulleth the spirits.

Baths are either artificial or natural, both have their special uses in this malady, and, as ³*Alexander* supposeth, lib. 1. cap. 16, yield as speedy a remedy as any other Physick whatsoever. *Alëtius* would have them daily used, *assidua balnea*, *Tetra*. 2. sect. 2. c. 9. *Galen* cracks how many several cures he hath performed in this kind by use of baths alone, and *Rufus* pills, moistening them which are otherwise dry. *Rhasis* makes it a principal cure, *tota cura sit in humectando*, to bathe and afterwards anoint with oil. *Jason Pratensis*, *Laurentius*, cap. 8, and *Montanus*, set down their peculiar forms of artificial baths. *Crato*, consil. 17. lib. 2, commends Mallows, Camomile, Violets, Borage, to be boiled in it, and sometimes fair water alone, as in his following counsel, *balneum aque dulcis solum sæpissimè profuisse comperit habemus*. So doth *Fuchsius*, lib. 1. cap. 33, *Frisimelica*, 2. consil. 42, in *Trincavellius*. Some, beside herbs, prescribe a ram's head and other things to be boiled. ⁴*Fernelius*, consil. 44, will have them used 10 or 12 days together ; to which he must enter fasting, and so continue in a

¹ Hildesheim, spcil. 2. de mel. Primum omnium operam dabis ut singulis diebus habeas beneficium ventris, semper cavendo ne alvus sit diutius astricta.

² Si non sponte, clysteribus purgetur. ³ Balneorum usus dulcium, siquid aliud, ipsis opitulatur. Credo hæc dici cum aliqua jactantia, inquit Montanus, consil. 26.

⁴ In quibus jejunos gliu sedeat eo tempore, ne sudorem excitent aut manifestum teporem, sed quadam refrigeratione humectent.

temperate heat, & and after that frictions all over the body. *Laelius* [à Fonte] *Eugubinus*, consil. 142, and *Christoph. Aererus*, in a consultation of his, hold once or twice a week sufficient to bathe, ¹ the water to be warm, not hot, for fear of sweating. *Felix Plater*, observ. lib. 1. for a melancholy Lawyer, ² will have lotions of the head still joined to these baths, with a lee wherein capital herbs have been boiled. ³ *Laurentius* speaks of baths of milk, which I find approved by many others. And still, after bath, the body to be anointed with oil of bitter Almonds, of violets, new or fresh butter, ⁴ Capon's grease, especially the back bone, and then lotions of the head, embrocations, &c. These kind of baths have been in former times much frequented, and diversely varied, & are still in general use in those Eastern Countries. The *Romans* had their publick Baths very sumptuous and stupend, as those of *Antoninus* and *Dioclesian*. *Plin.* [*N.H. lib.*] 36, [*c.* 24,] saith there were an infinite number of them in *Rome*, and mightily frequented. Some bathed seven times a day, as *Commodus* the Emperor is reported to have done, usually twice a day, and they were after anointed with most costly ointments: rich women bathed themselves in milk, some in the milk of 500 she-asses at once. We have many ruins of such Baths found in this Island, amongst those parietines ⁵ and rubbish of old *Roman Towns*. *Pispius*, de mag. Urb. Rom. l. 3. c. 8, *Rosinus*, Scot of Antwerp, and other Antiquaries, tell strange stories of their Baths. *Gillius*, l. 4. c. ult. *Topogr. Constant.* reckons up 155 publick ⁶ Baths in *Constantinople*, of fair building; they are still ⁷ frequented in that City by the *Turks* of all sorts, men and women, and all over *Greece* and those hot countries; to absterge belike that fulsomeness of sweat, to which they are there subject. *Busbequius*, in his Epistles, is very copious in describing the manner of them, how their women go covered, a maid following with a box of ointment to rub them. The richer sort have private Baths in their houses, the poorer go to the common, and are generally so curious in this behalf, that they will not eat nor drink until they have bathed, before and after meals some, ⁸ and will not make water or go to stool, but they will wash their hands. *Leo*

¹ Aqua non sit calida, sed tepida, ne sudor sequatur. ² Lotiones capitis ex lixivio, in quo herbas capitales coxerint. ³ Cap. 8. de mel. ⁴ Aut axungia pulli. *Piso.* [⁵ Ruins of walls.] ⁶ Thermæ Nymphaeæ. ⁷ Sandes, lib. 1. saith that women go twice a week to the Baths at least. ⁸ Epist. 3. ⁹ Nec alvum excernunt, quin aquam secum portent quâ partes obscanas lavant. *Busbequius*, Ep. 3. Leg. Turciæ.

Afer, l. 3, makes mention of 100 several Baths at *Fez* in *Africa*, most sumptuous, and such as have great revenues belonging to them. *Buxtorf*, cap. 14. *Synagog. Jud.* speaks of many ceremonies amongst the Jews in this kind; they are very superstitious in their Baths, especially women.

Natural Baths are praised by some, discommended by others; but it is in a diverse respect. ¹*Marcus de Oddis*, in *Hyp. affect.* consulted about Baths, condemns them for the heat of the liver, because they dry too fast; and yet by and by, ²in another counsel for the same disease, he approves them, because they cleanse by reason of the sulphur, and would have their water to be drunk. *Aretæus*, c. 7. commends Alum Baths above the rest; and ³*Mercurialis*, consil. 88, those of *Lucca* in that hypochondriacal passion. *He would have his patient tarry there 15 days together, and drink the water of them, and to be bucketed, or have the water poured on his head.* *John Baptista Silvaticus*, cont. 64, commends all the Baths in *Italy*, and drinking of their water, whether they be Iron, Alum, Sulphur; so doth ⁴*Hercules de Saxoniâ*. But, in that they cause sweat, and dry so much, he confines himself to hypochondriacal melancholy alone, excepting that of the head, and the other. *Trincavellius*, consil. 14. lib. 1, prefers those ⁵*Porrectan* Baths before the rest, because of the mixture of Brass, Iron, Alum, and consil. 35. l. 3, for a melancholy Lawyer, and consil. 36, in that hypochondriacal passion, the ⁶Baths of *Aquaria*, and 36. consil. the drinking of them. *Frisimelica*, consulted among the rest, in *Trincavellius*, consil. 42. lib. 2, prefers the Waters of *Apona* before all artificial Baths whatsoever in this disease, and would have one nine years affected with hypochondriacal passions, fly to them, as to an holy anchor. Of the same mind is *Trincavellius* himself there, and yet both put a hot liver in the same party for a cause, and send him to the waters of *S. Helen*,⁷ which are much hotter. *Montanus*, consil. 230, magnifies the ⁸*Chalderinian* Baths, and consil. 237, & 239, he exhorteth to the same, but with this caution,

¹ Hildesheim, spicel. 2. de mel. hypochon. Si non adesset jecoris caliditas, thermas laudarem, et si non nimia humoris exsiccatio esset metuenda. ² Fol. 141.

³ Thermas Luceenses adorat, ibique aquas ejus per 15 dies potet; et calidarum aquarum stillicidiis tum caput tum ventriculum de more subjiciat. ⁴ In panth.

⁵ Aquæ Porrectanæ. ⁶ Aquæ Aquariæ. ⁷ Ad aquas Aponenses velut ad sacram anchoram confugiat. ⁸ Joh. Bauhinus, li. 3. c. 14. hist. admir. fontis Bollensis in ducat. Wittenberg, laudat aquas Bollenses ad melancholicos morbos,

mœrorem, fascinationem, aliaque animi pathemata. ⁹ Balnea Chalderina.

¹ that the liver be outwardly anointed with some coolers, that it be not overheated. But these Baths must be warily frequented by melancholy persons, or if used to such as are very cold of themselves, for as *Gabelius* concludes of all Dutch Baths, and especially of these of *Baden*, they are good for all cold diseases, ² naught for ch^{ol}rick, hot & dry, and all infirmities proceeding of choler, inflammation of the spleen and liver. Our English Baths, as they are hot, must needs incur the same censure: but *D. Turner* of old, and *D. Jones*, have written at large of them. Of cold Baths I find little or no mention in any Physician; some speak against them. ³ *Cardan* alone, out of *Agathinus*, commends bathing in fresh rivers, & cold waters, and adviseth all such as mean to live long to use it, for it agrees with all ages & complexions, and is most profitable for hot temperatures. As for sweating, urine, blood-letting by hæmrods, or otherwise, I shall elsewhere more opportunely speak of them.

Immoderate *Venus* in excess, as it is a cause, or in defect; so, moderately used, to some parties an only help, a present remedy. *Peter Forestus* calls it *aptissimum remedium*, a most apposite remedy, ⁴ remitting anger, and reason, that was otherwise bound. *Avicenna*, *Fen.* 3. 20, *Oribasius*, *med. collect. lib.* 6. *cap.* 37, contend, out of *Ruffus* and others, ⁵ that many mad-men, melancholy, and labouring of the falling-sickness, have been cured by this alone. *Montaltus*, *cap.* 27. *de melan.* will have it drive away sorrow, and all illusions of the brain, to purge the heart and brain from ill smokes and vapours that offend them, ⁶ & if it be omitted, as *Valescus* supposeth, it makes the mind sad, the body dull and heavy. Many other inconveniences are reckoned up by *Mercatus*, and by *Rodericus à Castro*, in their tracts *de melancholiâ virginum et monialium*; ⁷ ob seminis retentionem sæpiunt sæpè moniales et virgines, but, as *Platerus* adds, si nubant, sanantur; they rave single, and pine away, much discontent, but marriage mends all. *Marcellus Donatus*, *lib.* 2. *med. hist. cap.* 1, tells a story to confirm this out of *Alexander Benedictus*, of a maid that was mad, ob menses inhibitos; cum, in officinam meritoriam incidisset, à quindecim viris eadem nocte comptessa, mensium largo

¹ Hepar externe ungatur, ne calefiat. ² Nocent calidis et siccis, cholericis, et omnibus morbis ex cholera, hepatis, splenique affectionibus. ³ Lib de aqua. Qui breve hoc vitæ curriculum cupiunt sani transigere, frigidis aquis sæpè lavare debent, nulli ætati cum sit incongruū, calidis imprimis utilis.

⁴ Solvit Venus rationis vim impeditam, ingentes iras remittit, &c. ⁵ Multi comitiales, melancholici, insani, hujus usu solo sanati. ⁶ Si omittatur coitus, contristat et plurimum gravat corpus et animum. [⁷ On the melancholy of maids and nuns.]

profluvio, quod pluribus annis ante constiterat, non sine magno pudore mane menti restituta discessit. But this must be warily understood, for, as *Arnoldus* objects, *lib. 1. breviar. 18. cap. Quid coitus ad melancholicum succum?* What affinity have these two? ¹ *except it be manifest that super-abundance of seed, or fulness of blood be a cause, or that Love, or an extraordinary desire of Venus, have gone before* or that, as *Lod. Mercatus* excepts, they be very flatuous, & have been otherwise accustomed unto it. *Montaltus, cap. 27.* will not allow of moderate *Venus* to such as have the Gout, Palsy, Epilepsy, Melancholy, except they be very lusty, and full of blood. ² *Lodovicus Antonius, lib. med. miscel.* in his chapter of *Venus*, forbids it utterly to all wrestlers, ditchers, labouring men, &c. ³ *Ficinus* and ⁴ *Marsilius Cognatus* put *Venus* one of the five mortal enemies of a student: *it consumes the spirits, and weakeneth the brain.* *Halyabbas* the Arabian, 5. *Theor. cap. 36.* and *Fason Pratensis* make it the fountain of most diseases, ⁵ *but most pernicious to them who are cold and dry*; a melancholy man must not meddle with it but in some cases. *Plutarch*, in his book *de san. tuend.* accounts of it as one of the three principal signs and preservers of health, temperance in this kind; ⁶ *to rise with an appetite, to be ready to work, and abstain from Venery, tria saluberrima,* are three most healthful things. We see their opposites how pernicious they are to mankind, as to all other creatures, they bring death, and many feral diseases: *Immodicus brevis est ætas & rara senectus.* ⁷ *Aristotle* gives instance in sparrows, which are *parùm vivaces ob salacitatem*, ⁸ short lived because of their salacity, which is very frequent, as *Scoppius*, in *Priapeis* [26], will better inform you. The extremes being both bad, ⁹ the *medium* is to be kept, which cannot easily be determined. Some are better able to sustain, such as are hot and moist, phlegmatick, as *Hippocrates* insinuateth, some strong and

¹ Nisi certo constet nimium semen aut sanguinem causam esse, aut amor præcesserit, aut &c. ² Athletis, arthriticis, podagricis nocet, nec opportuna prodest nisi fortibus et qui multo sanguine abundant. Idem Scaliger, exerc. 269. Turcis ideo luctatoribus prohibitum. ³ De sanit. tuend. lib. 1. ⁴ Lib. 1. ca. 7. exhaustit enim spiritus animumque debilitat. ⁵ Frigidis et siccis corporibus inimicissima. ⁶ Vesci intra satietatem, impigrum esse ad laborem, vitale semen conservare. [§ 15.] ⁷ Martial, vi. 29. 7. The immoderate are short-lived, and rarely come to old age. ⁸ De long. et brev. vitæ, c. v. ⁹ Nequitia est quæ te non sinit esse senem. [Ovid, F. i. 414.] ¹⁰ Vide Montanum, Pet. Godefridum, Amorum lib. 2. cap. 6. Curiosum de his, nam et numerum definitè Talimudistis, uniuersique sciatis assignari suum tempus, &c.

lusty, well fed like *Hercules*,¹ *Proculus* the Emperor, lusty *Laurence*,³ *prostibulum feminae*,⁴ *Messalina* the Empress,⁵ that by Philters, and such kind of lascivious meats, use all means to enable themselves, and brag of it in the end; *confodi multas enim, occidit vero paucas per ventrem vidisti*, as that Spanish *Caelestina* meely said: others impotent, of a cold and dry constitution, cannot sustain those gymnicks⁸ without great hurt done to their own bodies, of which number (though they be very prone to it) are melancholy men for the most part.

MEMB. III.

Air rectified. With a digression of the Air.

As a long-winged Hawk, when he is first whistled off the fist, mounts aloft, and for his pleasure fetcheth many a circuit in the Air, still soaring higher and higher, till he be come to his full pitch, and in the end, when the game is sprung, comes down amain, and stoops upon a sudden: so will I, having now come at last into these ample fields of Air, wherein I may freely expatiate and exercise myself for my recreation, a while rove, wander round about the world, mount aloft to those ethereal orbs and celestial spheres, and so descend to my former elements again. In which progress I will first see whether that relation of the Friar of *Oxford* be true, concerning these Northern parts under the Pole, (if I meet *obiter* [on the way] with the Wandering Jew, *Elias Artifex*, or *Lucian's Icaromenippus*,¹⁰ they shall be my guides), whether there be such 4 *Euripuses*, and a great rock of Loadstones, which may cause the needle in the Compass still to bend that way, and what should be the true cause of the variation of the Compass. ¹¹ Is it a mag-

¹ Thespiadas genuit. [See Diodorus Siculus, v. 2.] ² Vide Vopiscum, vit. ejus. [See also Gibbon, D. & F. chapter xii.] ³ A good wencher. The term occurs in this sense in Dekker's Wonder of a Kingdom. See Nares' Glossary, ed. Halliwell.] ⁴ Plaut. Aulularia, ii. iv. 6. That whore of a woman.] ⁵ Et lassata viris, &c. [Juv. vi. 130.] ⁶ Vid. Mizald. cent. 8. 11, Lemnium, lib. 2. cap. 16, Catullum ad Ipsithillam, &c., Ovid. Eleg. lib. 3. et 6. &c. Quot itinera una nocte confecissent, tot coronas ludicro Deo puta Triphallo, Marsiæ, Hermæ, Priapo, donarent. Cingemus tibi mentulam coronis, &c. ⁷ Pornoboscodid. Gasp. Barthii. ⁸ Cf. Suet. Dom. cap. 22.] ⁹ Nich. de Lynna, cited by Mercator in his Map. ¹⁰ See Lucian's Icaromenippus.] ¹¹ Mons Sloto. Some call it the highest hill in the world, next to Teneriffe in the Canaries. Lat. 81.

netical rock, or the Pole-star, as *Cardan* will ; or some other star in the Bear, as *Marsilius Ficinus* ; or a magnetical meridian, as *Maurolicus* ; *vel situs in venâ terræ*,¹ as *Agricola* ; or the nearness of the next Continent, as *Cabeus* will ; or some other cause, as *Scaliger*, *Cortesi*, *Conimbricenses*, *Peregrinus*, contend ; why at the *Azores* it looks directly North, otherwise not ? In the Mediterranean or Levant (as some observe) it varies 7 grad. by an hour 12, and then 22. In the *Baltick* Seas, near *Rasceburg* in *Finland*, the needle runs round, if any ships come that way, though *Martin Ridley* write otherwise, that the needle near the Pole will hardly be forced from his direction. 'Tis fit to be enquired whether certain rules may be made of it, as 11 grad. *Lond. variat. alibi* 36, &c. and, that which is more prodigious, the variation varies in the same place, now taken accurately, 'tis so much after a few years quite altered from that it was : till we have better intelligence, let our *D. Gilbert*, and *Nicholas Cabeus* the Jesuit, that have both written great volumes of this subject, satisfy these inquisitors. Whether the sea be open and navigable by the Pole Arctic, and which is the likeliest way, that of *Bartison* the *Hollander*, under the Pole itself, which for some reasons I hold best, or by *Fretum Davis*, or *Nova Zembla*. Whether *Hudson's* discovery be true of a new found Ocean, any likelihood of *Button's* Bay in 50 degrees, *Hubberd's Hope* in 60, that of *ut ultra* near Sir *Thomas Roe's* welcome in North-west *Fox*, being that the sea ebbs and flows constantly there 15 foot in 12 hours, as our ⁵ new Cards inform us that *California* is not a Cape, but an Island, and the West-winds make the *Nepe*⁶ tides equal to the Spring, or that there be any probability to pass by the straits of *Anian* to *China*, by the Promontory of *Tabin*. If there be, I shall soon perceive whether *Marcus Polus* the *Venetian's* narration be true or false, of that great City of *Quinsay* and *Cambalu* ; whether there be any such places, or that, as *Matth. Riccius* the Jesuit hath written, *China* and *Cathay* be all one, the great *Cham* of *Tartary* and the King of *China* be the same : *Xuntain* and *Quinsay*, and the City of *Cambalu* be that new *Peking*,⁹ or such a wall 400 leagues long

[¹ Or situated in a vein of the earth.] ² Cap. 26. in his Treatise of Magnetick Bodies. ³ I.e. lib. 1. cap. 23. et 24. de magnetica philosophia, et lib. 3. cap. 4. ⁴ 1612. ⁵ M. Briggs, his Map, and Northwest Fox. ⁶ [= Low.] ⁷ Lib. 2. ca. 64. de nob. civitat. Quinsay, et cap. 10. de Cambalu. ⁸ Lib. 4. expedit. ad Sinas, ca. 3. et lib. 5. c. 18. [⁹ So Ytle.]

to part *China* from *Tartary*: whether ¹*Presbyter* ²*John* be in *Asia* or *Africa*, *M. Polus Venetus* puts him in *Asia*,³ the most received opinion is, that he is Emperor of the *Abyssines*, which of old was *Ethiopia*, now *Nubia*, under the *Æquator* in *Africa*. Whether ⁴*Gyinea* be an Island or part of the Continent, or that hungry ⁵*Spaniard's* discovery of *Terra Australis Incognita*, or *Magellana*, be as true as that of *Mercurius Britannicus*, or his of *Utopia*, or his of *Lucinia*. And yet in likelihood it may be so, for without all question it being extended from the Tropick of *Capricorn* to the circle *Antarctick*, and lying as it doth in the temperate *Zone*, cannot choose but yield in time some flourishing Kingdoms to succeeding ages, as *America* did unto the *Spaniards*. *Shouten* and *Le Meir* have done well in the discovery of the Straits of *Magellan*, in finding a more convenient passage to *Mare Pacificum*: methinks some of our modern *Argonauts* should prosecute the rest. As I go by *Madagascar*, I would see that great Bird ⁶*Ruck*, that can carry a Man and Horse or an Elephant, with that *Arabian Phoenix* described by ⁷*Adricomius*; see the Pelicans of *Egypt*, those *Scythian Gryphes* in *Asia*: and afterwards in *Africa* examine the fountains of *Nilus*, whether *Herodotus*, ⁸*Seneca*, *Plin. lib. 5, cap. 9*, *Strabo, lib. 5*, give a true cause of his annual flowing, ⁹*Pagaphetta* discourse rightly of it, or of *Niger* and *Senega*; examine *Cardan*, ¹⁰*Scaliger's* reasons, and the rest. Is it from those *Etesian* winds, or melting of snow in the Mountains under the *Æquator*, (for *Jordan* yearly overflows when the snow melts in Mount *Libanus*), or from those great dropping perpetual showers, which are so frequent to the inhabitants within the Tropicks, when the Sun is vertical, and cause such vast inundations in *Senega*, *Maragnan*, *Orinoco*, and the rest of those great rivers in *Zona Torrida*, which have all commonly the same passions at set times: and by good husbandry and policy hereafter no doubt may come to be as populous, as well tilled, as fruitful, as *Egypt* itself, or *Cochin China*? I would observe all those motions of the sea, and from what cause they proceed, from the Moon (as the Vulgar

¹ M. Polus in Asia Presb. Joh. meminit, lib. 2. cap. 30. [2 Or Prester John, as Yule ai. See his note i. 205-209.] ³ Aluarezius et alii. ⁴ Lat. 10. Gr. Aust. ⁵ Ferdinando de Quir. Anno 1612. ⁶ Alarum pennæ continent in longitudine 12 passus, elephantem in sublime tollere potest. Polus l. 3. c. 40. ⁷ Lib. 2. Descript. Terræ Sanctæ. ⁸ Natur. quæst. lib. 4. cap. 2. ⁹ Lib. de reg. Congo. ¹⁰ Exercit. 47.

hold) or Earth's motion, which *Galileus*, in the fourth dialogue of his *System of the World*, so eagerly proves, and firmly demonstrates, or winds, as ¹some will. Why in that quiet Ocean of *Zur, in Mari Pacifico*, it is scarce perceived, in our *British* Seas most violent, in the *Mediterranean* and *Red Sea* so vehement, irregular, & diverse? Why the current in that *Atlantick Ocean* should still be in some places from, in some again towards the North, and why they come sooner than go? and so from *Moabar* to *Madagascar* in that *Indian Ocean* the Merchants come in three weeks, as ²*Scaliger* discusseth, they return scarce in three months, with the same or like winds: the continual current is from East to West. Whether Mount *Athos*, *Pelion*, *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Caucasus*, *Atlas*, be so high as *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Mela* relate, above Clouds, Meteors, *ubi nec auræ nec venti spirant*, (insomuch that they that ascend die suddenly very often, the air is so subtile), 1256 paces high, according to that measure of *Dicaearchus*, or 78 miles perpendicularly high, as *Jacobus Mazonius*, *sec. 3 & 4*, expounding that place of *Aristotle* about Mount *Caucasus*; and as ³*Blancanus* the Jesuit contends out of *Clavius & Nonius'* demonstrations *de Crepusculis*: or rather 32 stadiums, as the most received opinion is, or 4 miles, which the height of no Mountain doth perpendicularly exceed, & is equal to the greatest depths of the Sea, which is, as *Scaliger* holds, 1580 paces, *Exer. 38*, others 100 paces. I would see those inner parts of *America*, whether there be any such great City of *Manoa* or *Eldorado* in that golden Empire, where the high ways are as much beaten (one reports) as between *Madrid & Valladolid* in *Spain*; or any such *Amazones* as he relates, or gigantical Patagones in *Chica*; with that miraculous Mountain ⁴*Ybouyapab* in the Northern *Brazil*, *cujus jugum sternitur in amœnissimam planitiem*, ⁵*&c.* or that of *Periacacca*, so high elevated in *Peru*. ⁶The pike of *Teneriffe* how high is it? 70 miles, or 52, as *Patricius* holds, or 9, as *Snellius* demonstrates in his *Eratosthenes*; see that strange ⁷*Cirknickzerksey* lake in *Carniola*,⁸

¹ See M. Carpenter's Geography, lib. 2. cap. 6. et Bern. Telesius, lib. de mari.
² Exercit. 52. de maris motu causæ investigandæ: prima reciprocationis, secunda varietatis, tertia celeritatis, quarta cessationis, quinta privationis, sexta contrarietatis.
³ Lib. de explicatione locorum Mathem. Aristot. ⁴ Lact. lib. 17. cap. 18. descript. occid. Ind. [⁵ The top of which forms most pleasant table-land.] ⁶ Patricius saith 52 miles in height. ⁷ Luge alii vocant. ⁸ Geor. Wernerus. Aquæ tanta celeritate erumpunt et absorbentur, ut expedito equiti aditum intercludant.

whose waters gush so fast out of the ground, that they will overtake a swift horseman, and by and by with as incredible celerity are supped up: which *Lazius* & *Warnerus* make an argument of the *Agonauts* sailing under ground. And that vast den or hole call'd *Esmellen* in *Muscovia*, quæ visitur horrendo hiatu, &c. when, if any thing casually fall in, makes such a roaring noise, that no thunder, or ordnance, or warlike engine can make the like; such another is *Gilber's Cave* in *Lapland*, with many the like. I would examine the *Caspian Sea*, and see where and how it exonerates itself, after it hath taken in *Volga*, *Iaxares*, *Oxus*, and those great rivers; at the mouth of *Oby*, or where? What vent the *Mexican lake* hath, the *Titicacan* in *Peru*, or that circular pool in the vale of *Terapeia*, of which *Acosta*, l. 3. c. 16, hot in a cold country, the spring of which boils up in the middle twenty foot square, and hath no vent but exhalation: and that of *Mare Mortuum*¹ in *Palestine*, of *Thrasymene*, at *Perusium* in *Italy*: the *Mediterranean* itself. For from the *Ocean*, at the Straits of *Gibraltar*, there is a perpetual current into the *Levant*, and so likewise by the *Thracian Bosphorus* out of the *Euxine* or Black Sea, besides all those great rivers of *Nilus*, *Padus*, *Rhodanus*, &c. how is this water consumed? by the Sun, or otherwise? I would find out with *Trajan* the Fountains of *Danubius*, of *Ganges*, *Oxus*, see those *Egyptian Pyramids*, *Trajan's Bridge*, *Grotta de Sibylla*, *Lucullus' Fish-ponds*, the Temple of *Nidrose*, &c. and, if I could, observe what becomes of swallows, storks, cranes, cuckoos, nightingales, redstarts, & many other kind of singing birds, water-fowls, hawks, &c. some of them are only seen in summer, some in winter; some are observed in the² snow, and at no other times, each have their seasons. In winter not a bird is in *Muscovy* to be found, but at the³ spring in an instant the woods and hedges are full of them, saith *Herbastein*: how comes it to pass? Do they sleep in winter, like *Gesner's* Alpine mice; or do they lie hid (as *Olaus* affirms) in the bottom of lakes and rivers, spiritum continentes?⁴ often so found by fishermen in *Poland* and *Scandia*, two together, mouth to mouth, wing to wing; & when the spring comes they revive again, or if they be brought into a stove, or to the fire

¹ Boissardus de Magis, cap. de Pilapiis. ² [The Dead Sea.] ³ In campis Lovicenis. solum visuntur in nive; et ubinam vere, æstate, autumno se occultant? *Hermes*, Polit. L. 1. Jul. Bellius. ⁴ Statim ineunte vere silvæ strepunt eorum cantilenis. *Muscovit. comment.* ⁵ Immergunt se fluminibus lacubusque per hiemem totam, &c. [⁶ Holding their breath.]

side. Or do they follow the Sun, as *Peter Martyr, legat. Babylonica, l. 2.* manifestly convicts, out of his own knowledge? for, when he was Ambassador in *Egypt*, he saw swallows, Spanish kites,¹ and many such other *European* birds, in December and January, very familiarly flying, and in great abundance, about *Alexandria, ubi floridæ tunc arbores ac viridaria*; or lie they hid in caves, rocks, & hollow trees, as most think, in deep *mines* or *Sea-cliffs*, as ²*Mr. Carew* gives out? I conclude of them all, for my part, as ³*Munster* doth of cranes and storks: whence they come, whither they go, *incompertum adhuc*, as yet we know not. We see them here, some in summer, some in winter: *their coming and going is sure in the night: in the plains of Asia* (saith he) *the storks meet on such a set day, he that comes last is torn in pieces, and so they get them gone.* Many strange places, *Isthmuses, Euripuses, Chersoneses*, creeks, havens, promontories, straits, lakes, baths, rocks, mountains, places, and fields, where Cities have been ruined or swallowed, battles fought, creatures, Sea-monsters, *remora*, &c., minerals, vegetals. Zoophytes were fit to be considered in such an expedition, and, amongst the rest, that of ⁴*Herbastein* his *Tartar* lamb, ⁵*Hector Boethius'* goose-bearing tree in the *Orcades*, to which *Cardan, lib. 7. cap. 36. de rerum varietate*, subscribes: ⁶*Vertomannus'* wonderful palm; that ⁷fly in *Hispaniola*, that shines like a torch in the night, that one may well see to write; those spherical stones in *Cuba* which nature hath so made, and those like birds, beasts, fishes, crowns, swords, saws, pots, &c. usually found in the metal-mines in *Saxony* about *Mansfield*, and in *Poland* near *Nokow* and *Pallukie*, as ⁸*Munster* and others relate. Many rare creatures and novelties each part of the world affords: amongst the rest, I would know for a certain whether there be any such men, as *Leo Suavius* in his comment on *Para-*

¹ Cæterasque volucres Pontum hieme adveniente è nostris regionibus Europæis transvolantes. ² Survey of Cornwall. ³ Porro ciconiæ quoniam è loco veniant, quò se conferant, incompertum adhuc; agmen venientium, descendentium, ut gruum venisse cernimus, nocturnis opinor temporibus. In patentibus Asiæ campis certo die congregant se, eam quæ novissimè advenit lacerant, inde avolant. *Cosmog. l. 4. c. 126.* ⁴ Comment. Muscov. ⁵ Hist. Scot. l. 1. ⁶ Vertomannus, l. 5. c. 16, mentioneth a tree that bears fruits to eat, wood to burn, bark to make ropes, wine and water to drink, oil and sugar, and leaves as tiles to cover houses, flowers for clothes, &c. ⁷ Animal infectum Cusino, ut quis legere vel scribere possit sine alterius ope luminis. ⁸ *Cosmog. lib. 1. cap. 435 et lib. 3. cap. 1.* Habent ollas à natura formatas, è terra extractas, similes illis à figulis factis, coronas, pisces, aves, et omnes animantium species.

celsus de sanit. tuend. and ¹*Gaguinus* records in his description of *Muscovy*, that in *Lucomoria*, a Province in *Russia*, lie fast asleep as dead all winter from the 27th of November, like frogs and swallows, benumbed with cold, but about the 24th of April in the spring they revive again, and go about their business. I would examine that demonstration of *Alexander Piccolomineus*, whether the earth's superficies be bigger than the Sea's; or that of *Archimedes* be true, the superficies of all water is even. Search the depth, and see that variety of Sea-monsters and fishes, Mermaids, Sea-men, Horses, &c. which it affords. Or whether that be true which *Jordanus Brunus* scoffs at, that, if God did not detain it, the Sea would overflow the earth by reason of his higher site, and which *Josephus Blancanus* the Jesuit, in his interpretation on those mathematical places of *Aristotle*, foolishly fears, and in a just tract proves by many circumstances that in time the Sea will waste away the land, all the globe of the earth shall be covered with water; and *risum teneatis, amici?*² what the Sea takes away in one place it adds in another. Methinks he might rather suspect the Sea should in time be filled by land, trees grow up, carcasses, &c. that all-devouring fire, *omnia devorans & consumens*, will sooner cover and dry up the vast Ocean with sand and ashes. I would examine the true seat of that terrestrial ³Paradise, and where *Ophir* was, whence *Solomon* did fetch his gold; from *Peruana*, which some suppose, or that *Aurea Chersonnesus*, as *Dominicus Niger*, *Arias Montanus*, *Goropius*, and others, will. I would censure all *Pliny's*, *Solinus's*, *Strabo's*, Sir *John Mandeville's*, *Olaus Magnus*, *Marcus Polus*' lies, correct those errors in navigation, reform Cosmographical Charts, and rectify longitudes, if it were possible; not by the Compass, as some dream, with *Mark Ridley* in his treatise of magnetical bodies, *cap.* 43, for as *Cabeus, magnet. philos. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4, fully resolves, there is no hope thence, yet I would observe some better means to find them out.

I would have a convenient place to go down with *Orpheus*, *Ulysses*, *Hercules*, ⁴*Lucian's Menippus*, at *St. Patrick's* Purgatory, at *Trophonius'* den,⁵ *Hecla* in *Iceland*, *Ætna* in *Sicily*, to descend & see what is done in the bowels of the earth; do stones and

¹ Ut solent hirundines et ranae præ frigoris magnitudine mori, et postea, redeunt vere, 24 Aprilis reviviscere. [² Hor. A. P. 5. Could you but laugh, my friends?

³ Vid. Pererium in Gen. Cor. à Lapide, et alios. ⁴ In Necyomantia. [⁵ See Paus. ix. 39.]

metals grow there still? how come fir trees to be ¹ digged out from tops of hills, as in our mosses & marshes all over *Europe*? How come they to dig up fish bones, shells, beams, iron works, many fathoms under ground, & anchors in mountains far remote from all seas? ² *Anno* 1460, at *Berne* in *Switzerland*, 50 fathoms deep, a ship was digged out of a mountain, where they got much ore, in which were 48 carcasses of men, with other merchandise. That such things are ordinarily found in tops of hills, *Aristotle* insinuates in his meteors, ³ *Pomponius Mela* in his first book, *c. de Numidia*, & familiarly in the *Alps*, saith ⁴ *Blancanus* the Jesuit, the like is to be seen. Came this from earth-quakes, or from *Noah's* flood, as Christians suppose? or is there a vicissitude of Sea & land? as *Anaximenes* held of old the Mountains of *Thessaly* would become Seas, and Seas again Mountains. The whole world belike should be new moulded, when it seemed good to those all-commanding Powers, & turned inside out, as we do hay-cocks in Harvest, top to bottom, or bottom to top: or as we turn apples to the fire, move the world upon his Center; that which is under the *Poles* now, should be translated to the *Æquinoctial*, and that which is under the Torrid Zone to the Circle *Arctic* and *Antarctic* another while, & so be reciprocally warmed by the Sun: or, if the worlds be infinite, & every fixed star a Sun, with his compassing Planets, (as *Brunus* and *Campanella* conclude), cast three or four worlds into one; or else of one old world make three or four new, as it shall seem to them best. To proceed, if the earth be 21,500 miles in ⁵ compass, its Diameter is 7,000 from us to our *Antipodes*, and what shall be comprehended in all that space? What is the Center of the earth? is it pure element only, as *Aristotle* decrees, inhabited (as ⁶ *Paracelsus* thinks) with creatures, whose Chaos is the earth, or with *Fairies*, as the woods and waters (according to him) are with *Lymphs*, or as the Air with Spirits? *Dionysiodorus*, a Mathematician in ⁷ *Pliny*, that sent a letter *ad superos*, ⁸ after he was dead, from the Center of the

¹ Fracastorius, lib. de simp. Georgius Merula, lib. de mem. Julius Billius, &c.

² Simlerus, Ortelius. Brachii centum, sub terra reperta est, in qua quadraginta octo cadavera inerant, anchoræ, &c. ³ Pisces et conchæ in montibus reperiuntur.

⁴ Lib. de locis Mathemat. Aristot. ⁵ Or plain, as Patricius holds, which Austin, Lactantius, and some others, held of old as round as a trencher. ⁶ Lib. de

Zilphis et Pygmaeis. They penetrate the earth as we do the air. ⁷ [Nat. Hist.] Lib. 2. c. 109. ⁸ To the world above.]

earth, to signify what distance the same Center was from the *superficies* of the same, viz. 42,000 *stadiums*, might have done well to have satisfied all these doubts. Or is it the place of Hell, as *Virg.* in his *Æneid*, *Plato*, *Lucian*, *Dante*, and others, poetically describe it, and as many of our Divines think? In good earnest, *Anthony Rusca*, one of the society of that *Ambrosian* College in *Italy*, in his great volume *de Inferno*, lib. 1. cap. 47, is stiff in this tenet; 'tis a corporeal fire tow, cap. 5, l. 2, as he there disputes. *Whatsoever Philosophers write*, (saith ¹*Surius*), *there be certain mouths of Hell, and places appointed for the punishment of men's souls, as at Hecla in Iceland, where the ghosts of dead men are familiarly seen, & sometimes talk with the living: God would have such visible places, that mortal men might be certainly informed, that there be such punishments after death, & learn hence to fear God.* *Kranzius*, *Dan. Hist.* lib. 2. cap. 24, subscribes to this opinion of *Surius*, so doth *Colerus*, cap. 12. lib. *de Immortal. animæ* (out of the authority belike of *St. Gregory*, *Durand*, and the rest of the Schoolmen, who derive as much from *Ætna* in *Sicily*, *Lipari*, *Hiera*, and those sulphureous *Vulcanian* Islands) making *Terra del Fuego*, and those frequent *Volcanoes* in *America*, of which *Acosta*, lib. 3. cap. 24, that fearful Mount *Heckleberg* in *Norway*, an especial argument to prove it, ² *where lamentable screeches & howlings are continually heard, which strike a terror to the auditors; fiery chariots are commonly seen to bring in the souls of men in the likeness of crows, and Devils ordinarily go in and out.* Such another proof is that place near the *Pyramids* in *Egypt*, by *Cairo*, as well to confirm this as the resurrection, mentioned by ³*Kornmannus*, *mirac. mort.* lib. 1. cap. 38, *Camerarius*, *oper. suc.* cap. 37, *Bredenbachius*, *pereg. ter. sanct.* and some others, *where once a year dead bodies arise about March, and walk, & after a while hide themselves again: thousands of people come yearly to see them.* But these and such like testimonies others reject, as *Fables*, *illusions of spirits*, and they will have no such local known place, more than *Styx* or *Phlegethon*, *Pluto's Court*, or that poetical *Infernus*, where *Homer's* soul was seen hanging on a tree, &c. to which they ferried over in

¹ *Commentar. ad annum 1537.* Quicquid dicunt Philosophi, quædam sunt Tartari ostia, et loca puniendis animis destinata, ut Hecla mons, &c. ubi mortuorum spiritus visuntur, &c. voluit Deus exstare talia loca, ut discant mortales. ² Ubi miserabiles ejulantium voces audiuntur, qui auditoribus horrorem incutiunt haud vulgarem, &c. ³ Ex sepulchris apparent mense Martio, et rursus sub terram se abscondunt, &c.

Charon's boat, or went down at *Hermione in Greece*, *compendiaria ad inferos via*, which is the shortest cut, *quia nullum à mortuis naulum eo loci exposcunt*, (saith ¹*Gerbelius*) and besides there were no fees to be paid. Well then, is it Hell, or Purgatory, as *Callarmine*, or *Limbus patrum*, as *Gallucius* will, & as *Rusca* will (for they have made Maps of it) ² or *Ignatius' Parlour*? *Virgil*, sometime Bishop of *Salzburg* (as *Aventinus*, Anno 745, relates) by *Bonifacius* Bishop of *Mentz* was therefore called in question, because he held *Antipodes* (which they made a doubt whether Christ died for) and so by that means took away the seat of Hell, or so contracted it, that it could bear no proportion to Heaven, & contradicted that opinion of *Austin*, *Basil*, *Lactantius*, that held the earth round as a trencher (whom *Acosta* and common experience more largely confute) but not as a ball; and *Jerusalem*, where Christ died, the middle of it; or *Delos*, as the fabulous *Greeks* feigned, because, when *Jupiter* let two Eagles loose, to fly from the world's ends East & West, they met at *Delos*. But that scruple of *Bonifacius* is now quite taken away by our latter Divines: *Franciscus Ribera*, in cap. 14. [v. 20,] *Apocalyp.* will have Hell a material & local fire in the Center of the earth, 200 *Italian* miles in diameter, as he defines it out of those words, *Exivit sanguis de lacu—per stadia mille sexcenta*, &c. But *Lessius*, lib. 13. *de moribus divinis* cap. 24, will have this local Hell far less, one *Dutch* mile in Diameter, all filled with fire and brimstone: because, as he there demonstrates, that space cubically multiplied will make a Sphere able to hold eight hundred thousand millions of damned bodies (allowing each body six foot square) which will abundantly suffice; *cum certum sit, inquit, factà subductione, non futuros centies mille millones damnandorum*. But if it be no material fire (as *Scotus*, *Thomas*, ³ *Bonaventure*, *Soncinas*, *Vossius*, and others argue) it may be there or elsewhere, as *Keckerman* disputes, *System. Theol.* for sure somewhere it is, *certum est alicubi, etsi definitus circulus non assignetur*. I will end the controversy in ⁴*Austin's* words, *Better doubt of things concealed than to contend about uncertainties, where Abraham's bosom is, and Hell fire: vix à mansuetis, à contentiosis nunquam, invenitur*; scarce the

¹ Descript. Græc. lib. 6. de Pelop. ² Conclave Ignatii. [An allusion to a book of Donne's called Ignatius his Conclave, or Inthronisation in Hell.] [³ i.e. Thomas Aquinas.]

⁴ Melius dubitare de occultis quam litigare de incertis, ubi flamma inferni, &c. [De Gen. ad Litt. viii. 5.] ⁵ See Dr. Raynolds, prælect. 55. in Apoc.

meek, the contentious shall never find. If it be solid earth, 'tis the fountain of metals, waters, which by his innate temper turns air into water, which springs up in several chinks, to moisten the earth's superficies, & that in a tenfold proportion (as Aristotle holds); or else these fountains come directly from the sea by ¹ secret passages, and so made fresh again, by running through the bowels of the earth; and are either thick, thin, hot, cold, as the matter or minerals are by which they pass; or, as *Peter Martyr, Ocean. Decad. lib. 9*, and some others hold, from ² abundance of rain that falls, or from that ambient heat and cold, which alters that inward heat, and so *per consequens* ³ the generation of waters. Or else it may be full of wind, or a sulphureous innate fire, as our Meteorologists inform us, which, sometimes breaking out, causeth those horrible Earth-quakes, which are so frequent in these days in *Japan, China*, and oftentimes swallow up whole Cities. Let *Lucian's Mennipus* ⁴ consult with or ask of *Tiresias*, if you will not believe Philosophers; he shall clear all your doubts when he makes a second voyage.

In the mean time let us consider of that which is *sub dio*,⁵ and find out a true case, if it be possible, of such accidents, meteors, alterations, as happen above ground. Whence proceed that variety of manners, and a distinct character (as it were) to several nations? Some are wise, subtle, witty; others dull, sad, and heavy; some big, some little, as *Tully de Fato, Plato in Timæo, Vegetius*, and *Bodine* proves at large, *method. cap. 5*; some soft, and some hardy, barbarous, civil, black, dun, white; is it from the air, from the soil, influence of stars, or some other secret cause? Why doth *Africa* breed so many venomous beasts, *Ireland* none? *Athens* owls, *Crete* none? "Why hath *Daulis* and *Thebes* no swallows (so *Pausanias* [x. 4.] informeth us) as well as the rest of *Greece*, *Ithaca* no hares,⁶ *Pontus* [no] asses,⁷ *Scythia* [no] swine?¹⁰ Whence come this variety of complexions, colours, plants, birds, beasts, ¹¹ metals,

¹ As they come from the Sea, so they return to the Sea again by secret passages, as in all likelihood the Caspian Sea vents itself into the Euxine or Ocean.

² Seneca, quæst. lib. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. de causis aquarum perpetuis.

³ Consequently.

⁴ In Nocyomantia.

⁵ Under heaven.

⁶ In iis nec pullos hirundines excludunt, neque, &c.

⁷ Th. Ravennas, lib. de vit. hom. prærog. ca. ult.

⁸ See Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 58, 83, § 226.

⁹ Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 43, 68, § 167.

¹⁰ Pliny, Nat. Hist. xi. 25, 30, § 90.

¹¹ At Quito in Peru plus auri quam terræ foditur in aurifodinis.

peculiar almost to every place? Why so many thousand strange birds and beasts proper to *America* alone, as *Acosta* demands, *lib. 4. cap. 36*? Were they created in the six days, or ever in *Noah's Ark*? If there, why are they not dispersed & found in other countries? It is a thing (saith he) hath long held me in suspense; no *Greek, Latin, Hebrew*, ever heard of them before, and yet as differing from our *European* animals, as an egg and a chesnut: and, which is more, kine, horses, sheep, &c. till the *Spaniards* brought them, were never heard of in those parts. How comes it to pass that in the same site, in one latitude, to such as are *Periæci*,¹ there should be such difference of soil, complexion, colour, metal, air, &c. The *Spaniards* are white, and so are *Italians*, when as the Inhabitants about *Caput Bonæ Spei*² are Blackamores, and yet both alike distant from the *Æquator*: nay, they that dwell in the same parallel line with these *Negroes*, as about the Straits of *Magellan*, are white coloured, and yet some in *Presbyter's John's* country in *Æthiopia* are dun; they in *Zeilan* and *Malabar*, parallel with them, again black: *Manamotapa* in *Africa*, and *St. Thomas' Isle* are extreme hot, both under the line, coal black their Inhabitants, whereas in *Peru* they are quite opposite in colour, very temperate, or rather cold, & yet both alike elevated. *Moscow* in 53 degrees of latitude extreme cold, as those Northern Countries usually are, having one perpetual hard frost all winter long: and in 52. deg. lat. sometimes hard frost and snow all summer, as in *Button's Bay*, &c. or by fits; and yet *England* near the same latitude, and *Ireland*, very moist, warm, and more temperate in winter than *Spain, Italy, or France*. Is it the Sea that causeth this difference, and the Air that comes from it? Why then is *Ister* so cold near the *Euxine, Pontus, Bithynia*, & all *Thrace*? *Frigidas regiones*⁷ *Maginus* calls them, and yet their latitude is but

[¹ Neighbours.] ² Ad Caput Bonæ Spei incolæ sunt nigerrimi. Si sol causa, cur non Hispani et Itali æque nigri, in eadem latitudine, æque distantes ab Æquatore, hi ad Austrum, illi ad Boream? qui sub Presbytero Johanne habitant subfusi sunt, in Zeilan et Malabar nigri, æque distantes ab Æquatore, eodemque cæli parallelo: sed hoc magis mirari quis possit, in tota America nusquam nigras inveniri, præter paucos in loco Quareno illis dicto: quæ hujus coloris causa efficiens, cælive aut terræ qualitas, an soli proprietates, aut ipsorum hominum innata ratio, aut omnia? •Ortelius in 'Africa, Theat. [³ The Cape of Good Hope.] [⁴ Or Prester, as Yule always.] ⁵ Regio quocunque anni tempore temperatissima. Ortel. Multas Galliæ et Italiæ regiones, molli tepore, et benigna quadam temperie, prorsus antecellit, Jovius. ⁶ Lat. 45. Danubii [⁷ Cold regions.]

42, which should be hot. ¹*Quevira*, or *Nova Albion* in *America*, bordering on the sea, was so cold in July, that our ²Englishmen could hardly endure it. At *Noremburga*, in 45. lat. all the sea is frozen in Ice, and yet in a more Southern latitude than ours. *New England*, and the Island of *Cambrial Colchos*, which that noble Gentleman Mr. *Vaughan*, or *Orpheus Junior*, describes in his *Golden Fleece*, is in the same latitude with little *Britain* in *France*, and yet their winter begins not till January, their spring till May; which search he accounts worthy of an Astrologer; is this from the Easterly winds, or melting of ice and snow dissolved within the circle Arctick; or that the air being thick, is longer before it be warm by the Sun beams, and once heated like an oven will keep itself from cold? Our Climes breed lice, ³*Hungary* and *Ireland* *malè audiunt*⁴ in this kind; come to the *Azores*, by a secret virtue of that air they are instantly consumed, & all our European vermin almost, saith *Ortelius*. *Egypt* is watered with *Nilus* not far from the sea, and yet there it seldom or never rains: *Rhodes*, an Island of the same nature, yields not a cloud, and yet our Islands ever dropping and inclining to rain. The *Atlantick* Ocean is still subject to storms, but in *Del Zur*, or *Mari Pacifico*, seldom or never any. Is it from Topick stars, *apertio portarum*, in the Dodecatemories or Constellations, the Moon's mansions, such aspects of Planets, such winds, or dissolving air, or thick air, which causeth this and the like differences of heat and cold? *Bodine* relates of a *Portugal* Ambassador, that, coming from ⁵*Lisbon* to ⁶*Dantzick* in *Spruce*, found greater heat there than at any time at home. *Don Garcia de Sylva*, Legate to *Philip* 3. King of *Spain*, residing at *Spahan* in *Persia*, 1619, in his letter to the Marquess of *Bedmar*, makes mention of greater cold in *Spahan*, whose lat. is 31. gr. than ever he felt in *Spain*, or any part of *Europe*. The Torrid Zone was by our predecessors held to be uninhabitable, but by our modern travellers found to be most temperate, bedewed with frequent rains, and moistening showers, the brise and cooling blasts in some parts, as ⁷*Acosta* describes, most pleasant and fertile. *Arica* in *Chili* is by report one of the sweetest places that ever the Sun shined on, *Olympus terra*, an heaven on earth: how incomparably do some extol *Mexico* in *Nova Hispania*, *Peru*, *Brazil*, &c. in some again

¹ Quevira, lat. 40. ² In Sir Fra. Drake's voyage. ³ Lansius orat. contra Hungaros. [⁴ Have a bad name.] ⁵ Lisbon, lat. 38. ⁶ Dantzick, lat. 54.
⁷ De nat. novi orbis, lib. 1. cap. 9. Suavissimus omnium locus, &c.

hard, dry, sandy, barren, a very Desert, and still in the same latitude. Many times we find great diversity of air in the same¹ country, by reason of the site to seas, hills, or dales, want of water, nature of soil, and the like : as in *Spain Arragon* is *aspera & frigida*, harsh and evil inhabited, *Estremadura* is dry, sandy, barren most part, extreme hot by reason of his plains, *Andalusia* another Paradise, *Valencia* a most pleasant air, and continually green ; so is it about² *Granada*, on the one side fertile plains, on the other continual snow to be seen all Summer long on the hill tops. That their houses in the *Alps* are three quarters of the year covered with snow, who knows not ? That *Teneriffe* is so cold at the top, extreme hot at the bottom ; *Mons Atlas* in *Africa*, *Libanus* in *Palestine*, *tantos inter ardores opacum folumque nivibus*,³ *Tacitus* calls it, with many such, and *Kadzivilius*, *epist. 2. fol. 27.* yields it to be far hotter there than in any part of *Italy* : 'tis true ; but they are highly elevated, near the middle region, & therefore cold, *ob paucam solarium radiorum refractionem*, as *Serrarius* answers, *com. in 3. cap. Josua, quæst. 5. Abulensis, quæst. 37.* In the heat of Summer, in the King's Palace in *Escorial*, the air is most temperate, by reason of a cold blast which comes from the snowy mountains of *Sierra de Gudarrama* hard by, when as in *Toledo* it is very hot : so in all other countries. The causes of these alterations are commonly by reason of their nearness (I say) to the middle region : but this diversity of air, in places equally site, elevated, and distant from the Pole, can hardly be satisfied with that diversity of Plants, Birds, Beasts, which is so familiar with us. With *Indians*, every where, the Sun is equally distant, the same vertical stars, the same irradiations of Planets, Aspects alike, the same nearness of seas, the same superficies, the same soil, or not much different. Under the *Æquator* itself, amongst the *Sierras*, *Andes*, *Lanes*, as *Herrera*, *Laet. and Acosta*, contend, there is *tam mirabilis et inopinata varietas*, such variety of weather, *ut merito exerceat ingenia*, that no Philosophy can yet find out the true cause of it. When I consider how temperate it is in one place, saith⁴ *Acosta*, within the Tropick of *Capricorn*, as about *La Plata*, and yet hard by at *Potosi*, in that same altitude, mountainous alike, extreme cold ; extreme hot in

¹ The same variety of weather *Lod. Guicciardini* observes betwixt *Liege* and *Aix* not far distant, *Descript. Belg.* ² *Magin. Quadus.* ³ *Hist. lib. 5. [cap. 6.]*

⁴ *Lib. 11. cap. 7.* ⁵ *Lib. 2. cap. 9.* *Cur Potosi et Plata, urbes in tam tenui intervallo, utraque montosa, &c.*

*Brazil, &c. hic ego, saith Acosta, philosophiam Aristotelis meteorologicam vehementer irrisi, cum,*¹ &c. when the Sun comes nearest to them, they have great tempests, storms, thunder and lightning, great store of rain, snow, and the foulest weather; when the Sun is vertical, their rivers over-flow, the morning fair and hot, noon-day cold and moist: all which is opposite to us. How comes it to pass? *Scaliger, poetices, l. 3. cap. 16,* discourseth thus of this subject. How comes, or wherefore is this *temeraria siderum dispositio*, this rash placing of Stars, or as *Epicurus* will, *fortuita*, or accidental? Why are some big, some little? Why are they so confusedly, unequally, site in the heavens, and set so much out of order? In all other things Nature is equal, proportionable, and constant; there be *justæ dimensiones, et prudens partium dispositio*,² as in the fabrick of man, his eyes, ears, nose, face, members, are correspondent; *cur non idem celo, opere omnium pulcherrimo?* Why are the heavens so irregular, *neque paribus molibus, neque paribus intervallis?* Whence is this difference? *Diversos* (he concludes) *efficere locorum genios*, to make diversity of countries, soils, manners, customs, characters & constitutions among us, *ut quantum vicinia ad caritatem addat, sidera distrahant ad perniciem*, and so by this means *fluvio vel monte distincti sunt dissimiles*, the same places almost shall be distinguished in manners. But this reason is weak & most unsufficient. The fixed stars are removed since *Ptolemy's* time 26 gr. from the first of *Aries*, and if the earth be immovable, as their site varies, so should countries vary, and divers alterations would follow. But this we perceive not; as in *Tully's* time with us in *Britain*, *cælum visu fœdum, et in quo facile generantur nubes,* &c.³ 'tis so still. Wherefore *Bodine, Theat. nat. lib. 2,* and some others, will have all these alterations and effects immediately to proceed from those *Geni*, Spirits, Angels, which rule and domineer in several places; they cause storms, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, ruins [rains], tempests, great winds, floods, &c. The Philosophers of *Coimbra* will refer this diversity to the influence of that *Empyrean* Heaven: for some say the *eccentricity* of the Sun is come nearer to the earth than in *Ptolemy's* time; the virtue therefore of all the vegetables is decayed, 'men grow less, &c.

[¹ Hereupon I loudly laughed at the meteorological philosophy of Aristotle, since.] [² Just dimensions, and wise proportions of parts.] [³ The sky is gloomy and soon cloudy. See Tacitus, Agricola, cap. 12.] * Terra malos homines nunc eluciat atque pusillos. [Juv. xv. 70.]

There are that observe new motions of the Heavens, new stars, *palantia sidera*,¹ comets, clouds, call them what you will, like those *Medicean, Bourbonian, Austrian* Planets lately detected, which do not decay, but come and go, rise higher and lower, hide and shew themselves amongst the fixed stars, amongst the Planets, above & beneath the Moon, at set times, now nearer, now farther off, together, asunder; as he that plays upon a Sackbut by pulling it up and down alters his tones and tunes, do they their stations and places, though to us undiscerned; and from those motions proceed (as they conceive) divers alterations. *Clavius* conjectures otherwise, but they be but conjectures. About *Damascus* in *Cale-Syria* is a² Paradise, by reason of the plenty of waters, *in promptu causa est*,³ & the Deserts of *Arabia* barren, because of rocks, rolling seas of sands, and dry mountains, *quod iniquosa* (saith *Adricomius*) *montes habens asperos, saxosos, præcipientes, horrore et mortis speciem præ se ferentes*, uninhabitable therefore of men, birds, beasts, void of all green trees, plants and fruits, a vast rocky horrid wilderness, which by no art can be manured, 'tis evident. *Bohemia* is cold, for that it lies all along to the North. But why should it be so hot in *Egypt*, or there never rain? Why should those *Etesian* & North-Eastern winds blow continually and constantly so long together, in some places, at set times, one way still, in the dog-days only: here perpetual drought, there dropping showers; here foggy mists, there a pleasant air; here⁴ terrible thunder and lightning, at such set seasons, here frozen seas all the year, there open in the same latitude, to the rest no such thing, nay quite opposite is to be found? Sometimes (as in⁵ *Peru*) on the one side of the mountains it is hot, on the other cold, here snow, there wind, with infinite such. *Fromundus*, in his *Meteors*, will excuse or solve all this by the Sun's motion, but when there is such diversity to such as [are] *Periaci*, [neighbours], or very near site, how can that position hold?

Who can give a reason of this diversity of *Meteors*, that it should rain⁷ *Stones, Frogs, Mice, &c. Rats*, which they call *Lemmer* in *Norway*, and are manifestly observed (as⁸ *Munster* writes) by the

[¹ *Lucret. ii. 1031*, wandering stars.] ² *Nav. l. i. c. 5.* [³ The reason is clear.] ⁴ *Strabo. [An Herodotus, vi. 140?]* ⁵ As under the *Æquator* in many parts, showers here at such a time, winds at such a time, the Brise they call it. ⁶ *Ferd. Cortesius, lib. Novus orbis inscript.* ⁷ *Lapidatum est. Livy, [xxix. 10, 14.]* ⁸ *Cosmog. lib. 4. cap. 22. Hæ tempestates decidunt è nubibus fæculentis, depascunturque more locustorum omnia virentia.*

Inhabitants to descend and fall with some fæculent showers, and, like so many Locusts, consume all that is green. *Leo Afer* speaks as much of Locusts, about *Fez* in *Barbary* there be infinite swarms in the fields upon a sudden: so at *Arles* in *France*, 1553, the like happened by the same mischief, all their grass & fruits were devoured, *magna incolarum admiratione et consternatione*,¹ (as *Valerius*, *observ. med. lib. 1. observ. 1*, relates) *cælum subito obumbrabant*,² &c. he concludes³ it could not be from natural causes, they cannot imagine whence they come but from heaven. Are these and such creatures, corn, wood, stones, worms, wool, blood, &c. lifted up into the middle region by the Sun beams, as *Baracellus* the Physician disputes, and thence let fall with showers, or there engendered? *Cornelius Gemma* is of that opinion, they are there conceived by celestial influences: others suppose they are immediately from God, or prodigies raised by art and illusions of Spirits, which are Princes of the Air; to whom *Bodine*, *lib. 2. Theat. Nat.* subscribes. In fine, of Meteors in general, *Aristotle's* reasons are exploded by *Bernardinus Telesius*, by *Paracelsus*, his principles confuted, & other causes assigned, *sal, sulphur, mercury*, in which his Disciples are so expert, that they can alter Elements, and separate at their pleasure, make perpetual motions, not as *Cardan*, *Tasneir*, *Peregrinus*, by some magnetical virtue, but by mixture of elements; imitate thunder, like *Salmonius*, snow, hail, the sea's ebbing & flowing, give life to creatures (as they say) without generation, and what not? *P. Nonius Saluciensis* & *Kepler* take upon them to demonstrate that no Meteors, Clouds, Fogs, Vapours, arise higher than 50 or 80 miles, and all the rest to be purer air or element of fire: which *Cardan*, *Tycho*, and *John Pena*, manifestly confute by refractions, and many other arguments, there is no such element of fire at all.⁴ If, as *Tycho* proves, the Moon be distant from us 50 and 60 semidiameters of the earth: and, as *Peter Nonius* will have it, the air be so angust, what proportion is there betwixt the other three Elements and it? to what use serves it? is it full of Spirits which inhabit it, as the *Paracelsians* and *Platonists*

[¹ To the great wonder and consternation of the inhabitants.] [² They all of a sudden darkened the sky.] [³ Hort. Genial. An à terra sursum rapiuntur à solo, iterumque cum pluviis præcipitantur? &c.] [⁴ Tam ominousus proventus in naturales causas referri vix potest.] [⁵ Cosmog. c. 6.] [⁶ Cardan saith vapours rise 288 miles from the earth, Eratosthenes 48 miles.] [⁷ De subtil. l. 2.] [⁸ In Progymnas.] [⁹ Præfat. ad Euclid. Catop.]

hold, the higher the more noble, ¹full of birds, or a mere *vacuum* to no purpose? It is much controverted betwixt *Tycho Brahe* and *Christopher Rotman*, the *Landgrave of Hesse's* Mathematician, in their Astronomical Epistles, whether it be the same *diaphanum*, clearness, matter of air and heavens, or two distinct essences? *Christopher Rotman*, *John Pena*, *Jordanus Brunus*, with many other late Mathematicians, contend it is the same and one matter throughout, saving that the higher the purer it is, and more subtle; as they find by experience in the top of some hills in ²*America*; if a man ascend, he faints instantly for want of thicker air to refrigerate the heart. *Acosta*, l. 3. c. 9, calls this mountain *Periacacca* in *Peru*, it makes men cast and vomit, he saith, that climb it, as some other of those *Andes* do in the deserts of *Chila* for 500 miles together, and for extremity of cold to lose their fingers and toes. *Tycho* will have two distinct matters of Heaven and Air; but to say truth, with some small qualification, they have one & the self same opinion about the essence and matter of Heavens; that it is not hard and impenetrable, as *Peripateticks* hold, transparent, of a *quinta essentia*, ³but that it is penetrable & soft as the air itself is, & that the Planets move in it, as *Birds in the Air*, *Fishes in the Sea*. This they prove by motion of Comets, and otherwise (though *Claremontius* in his *Antitycho* stiffly oppose) which are not generated, as *Aristotle* teacheth, in the aerial Region, of a hot and dry exhalation, and so consumed: but, as *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus* held of old, of a celestial matter: and as ⁴*Tycho*, ⁵*Helisæus Ræslin*, *Thaddeus Haggæsius*, *Pena*, *Rotman*, *Fracastorius*, demonstrate by their progress, parallaxes, refractions, motions of the Planets, which interfere and cut one another's orbs, now higher, and then lower, as ⁶amongst the rest, which sometimes, as ⁷*Kepler* confirms by his own and *Tycho's* accurate observations, comes nearer the earth than the ☉, and is again eftsoons aloft in *Jupiter's* orb; and ⁸other sufficient reasons, far

¹ Manucodiatae, birds that live continually in the air, and are never seen on ground but dead. See Ulysses Aldrovand. Ornithol. Scal. exerc. cap. 229.

² Laet. Descript. Amer. ³ Epist. lib. 1. p. 83. Ex quibus constat nec diversa aëris et ætheris diaphana esse, nec refractiones aliunde quam à crasso aëre causari.

—Non dura aut impervia, sed liquida, subtilis, motuique Planetarum facile cedens.

⁴ In Progymn. lib. 2. exempl. quinque. ⁵ In Theoria nova Met. coelestium 1578.

⁶ Epit. Astron. lib. 4. ⁷ Multa sanè hinc consequuntur absurda, et si nihil aliud, tot Cometæ in æthere animadversi, qui nullius orbis ductum comitantur, id ipsum sufficienter refellunt. *Tycho*, astr. epist. pag. 107.

above the Moon: exploding in the mean time that element of fire, those fictitious first watery movers, those Heavens I mean above the Firmament, which *Delrio*, *Lodovicus Imola*, *Patricius*, & many of the Fathers, affirm; those monstrous orbs of *Eccentrics*, and *Eccentre Epicycles deserentes*; which howsoever *Ptolemy*, *Alhasen*, *Vitellio*, *Purbachius*, *Maginus*, *Clavius*, & many of their associates, stiffly maintain to be real orbs, eccentrick, concentrick, circles æquant, &c. are absurd and ridiculous. For who is so mad to think that there should be so many circles, like subordinate wheels in a clock, all impenetrable and hard, as they feign, add & subtract at their pleasure. ¹*Maginus* makes eleven Heavens, subdivided into their orbs & circles, and all too little to serve those particular appearances: *Francastorius* 72 homocentrick; *Tycho Brahe*, *Nicholas Ramerus*, *Helisæus Ræslin*, have peculiar hypotheses of their own inventions; and they be but inventions, as most of them acknowledge, as we admit of *Æquators*, *Tropicks*, *Colures*, *Circles*, *Arctick* and *Antarctick*, for doctrine's sake (though *Ramus* thinks them all unnecessary) they will have them supposed only for method and order. *Tycho* hath feigned I know not how many subdivisions of Epicycles in Epicycles, &c. to calculate and express the Moon's motion: but when all is done, as a supposition, and no otherwise; not (as he holds) hard, impenetrable, subtile, transparent, &c. or making musick, as *Pythagoras* maintained of old, and *Robert Constantine* of late, but still quiet, liquid, open, &c.

If the Heavens then be penetrable, as these men deliver, and no lets, it were not amiss in this aerial progress to make wings, and fly up, which that *Turk* in *Busbequius* made his fellow-citizens in *Constantinople* believe he would perform: & some new-fangled wits, methinks, should some time or other find out: or if that may not be, yet with a *Galileo's* glass, or *Icaromenippus'* wings in *Lucian*,² command the Spheres and Heavens, and see what is done amongst them. Whether there be generation and corruption, as some think, by reason of æthereal Comets, that in *Cassiopea* 1572, that in *Cygn* 1600, that in *Sagittarius* 1604, and many like, which by no means *Jul. Cæsar la Galla*, that *Italian* Philosopher, in his physical disputation with *Galileo*, *de phænomenis in orbe Lunæ*, cap. 9, will admit: or that they were created

¹ In Theoricis Planetarum, three above the firmament, which all wise men reject.

² See *Lucian's Icaromenippus*.]

ab initio,¹ and shew themselves at set times: and, as ²*Helisæus Ræslin* contends, have Poles, Axletrees, Circles of their own, and regular motions. For *non pereunt, sed minuuntur & disparent*,³ *Blansanus* holds, they come & go by fits, casting their tails still from the Sun: some of them, as a burning glass project the Sun beams from it; though not always neither: for sometimes a Comet casts his tail from *Venus*, as *Tycho* observes; and as ⁴*Helisæus Ræslin* of some others, from the Moon, with little Stars about them, *ad stuporem Astronomorum; cum multis aliis in cælo miraculis*,⁵ all which argue, with those *Medicean, Austrian, & Bourbonian* Stars, that the Heaven of the Planets is indistinct, pure, and open, in which the Planets move *certis legibus ac metis*.⁶ Examine likewise, *an cælum sit coloratum?* Whether the Stars be of that bigness, distance, as Astronomers relate, so many in ⁷number, 1026, or 1725, as *J. Bayerus*; or, as some *Rabbins*, 29,000 *myriads*; or, as *Galileo* discovers by his glasses, infinite, & that *via lactea*, a confused light of small Stars, like so many nails in a door: or all in a row, like those 12,000 Isles of the *Maldives* in the *Indian Ocean*? Whether the least visible Star in the eighth Sphere be 18 times bigger than the earth, and, as *Tycho* calculates, 14,000 semidiameters distant from it? Whether they be thicker parts of the orbs, as *Aristotle* delivers? or so many habitable Worlds, as *Democritus*? whether they have light of their own, or from the Sun, or give light round, as *Patricius* discourseth? *An æquè distent à centro mundi?*⁸ Whether light be of their essence; & that light be a substance or an accident? whether they be hot by themselves, or by accident cause heat? whether there be such a precession of the *Æquinoxes*, as *Copernicus* holds, or that the eighth Sphere move? *An benè philosophentur R. Bacon, et J. Dec, Aphorism. de multiplicatione specierum?* Whether there be any such Images ascending with each degree of the Zodiack in the East, as *Aliacensis* feigns? *An aqua super cælum?* as *Patricius* & the Schoolmen will, a crystalline ⁹watery heaven, which is ¹⁰certainly to be understood of that in the middle region? for otherwise, if at

[¹ From the beginning.] . ² Theor. nova cœlest. Meteor. ³ Lib. de fabricâ mundi. ⁴ Lib de Cometis. [⁵ To the marvel of Astronomers, with many others wonders in the heavens.] [⁶ By fixed laws and in certain limits.] ⁷ An sit crux et nubecula in cœlis ad Polum Antarcticum, quod ex Corsalio refert Patricius. [⁸ Whether they are equidistant from the world's centre.] ⁹ Gilbertus Origanus, ¹⁰ See this discussed in Sir Walter Raleigh's history, in Zanch. ad Casman.

Noah's flood the water came from thence, it must be above an hundred years falling down to us, as ¹some calculate. Besides, *an terra sit animata?*² which some so confidently believe, with *Orpheus*, *Hermes*, *Averroes*, from which all other souls of men, beasts, devils, plants, fishes, &c. are derived, and into which again, after some revolutions, as *Plato* in his *Timæus*, *Plotinus* in his *Enneades*, more largely discuss, they return (see *Chalcidius* & *Bennius*; *Plato's* Commentators) as all philosophical matter, *in materiam primam*. *Keplerus*, *Patricius*, and some other Neotericks, have in part revived this opinion. And that every star in heaven hath a soul, angel, or intelligence, to animate or move it, &c. Or, to omit all smaller controversies, as matters of less moment, and examine that main paradox, of the Earth's motion, now so much in question: *Aristarchus Samius*, *Pythagoras*, maintained it of old, *Democritus*, and many of their Scholars. *Didacus Astunica*, *Anthony Fascarinus*, a Carmelite, & some other Commentators, will have *Job* to insinuate as much, *cap. 9. ver. 6. qui commovet terram de loco suo*, &c. and that this one place of Scripture makes more for the Earth's motion, than all the other prove against it; whom *Pineda* confutes, most contradict. Howsoever, it is revived since by *Copernicus*, not as a truth, but a supposition, as he confesseth himself in the Preface to Pope *Nicholas*, but now maintained in good earnest by ³*Calcagninus*, *Telesius*, *Kepler*, *Rotman*, *Gilbert*, *Digges*, *Galileo*, *Campanella*, & especially by ⁴*Lansbergius*, *naturæ, rationi, et veritati consentaneum*,⁵ by *Origanus*, and some ⁶others of his followers. For if the Earth be the Center of the World, stand still, and the Heavens move, as the most received ⁷opinion is, which they call *inordinatam cæli dispositionem*, though stiffly maintained by *Tycho*, *Ptolemæus*, and their adherents, *quis ille furor?* &c. what fury is that, saith ⁸Dr. *Gilbert*, *satis animosè*, as *Cabeus* notes, that shall drive the Heavens about with such incomprehensible celerity in 24 hours, when as every point of the Firmament, and in the *Æquator*, must needs move (so ⁹*Clavius* calculates) 176,660 in one 246th part of an hour: and an arrow out of a bow must go seven times about the earth

¹ Vide Fromundum de Meteoris, lib. 5. artic. 5. et Lansbergium. [² Whether the earth is animated?] ³ Peculiari libello.

⁴ Comment. in motum terræ, Middlebergi, 1630. 4. [⁵ As agreeing with nature, reason, and truth.] ⁶ Peculiari libello.

⁷ See Mr. Carpenter's Geogr. cap. 4. lib. 1. *Campanella* et *Origanus* præf. Ephemer. where Scripture places are answered. ⁸ De Magnete. ⁹ Comment. in 2 cap. sphær. Jo. de Sacr. Bosc.

whilst a man can say an *Ave Maria*, if it keep the same space, or compass the earth 1,884 times in an hour, which is *supra humanam cogitationem*, beyond human conceit: *Ociore et jaculo, et ventos æquante sagitta*.¹ A man could not ride so much ground, going 4 miles a day, in 2,904 years, as the Firmament goes in 24 hours; or so much in 203 years, as the said Firmament in one minute; *god incredible videtur*.² and the ³Pole star, which to our thinking scarce moveth out of his place, goeth a bigger circuit than the Sun, whose Diameter is much larger than the Diameter of the Heaven of the Sun, and 20,000 Semidiameters of the Earth from us, with the rest of the fixed stars, as *Tycho* proves. To avoid therefore these impossibilities, they ascribe a triple motion of the Earth, the Sun immovable in the Center of the whole World, the Earth Center of the Moon, alone, above ♀ and ♂, beneath, ♀, ♀, ♂, (or, as ⁴*Origanus* and others will, one single motion to the Earth, still placed in the Center of the World, which is more probable) a single motion to the Firmament, which moves in 30 or 26 thousand years; and so the Planets, *Saturn* in 30 years absolves his sole and proper motion, *Jupiter* in 12, *Mars* in 3, &c. and so solve all appearances better than any way whatsoever: calculate all motions, be they in *longum* or *latum*, direct, stationary, retrograde, ascent or descent, without Epicycles, intricate Eccentricks, &c. *rectius commodiusque per unicum motum terræ*, saith *Lansbergius*, much more certain than by those *Alphonsine* or any such Tables, which are grounded from those other suppositions. And 'tis true they say according to optick principles, the visible appearances of the Planets do so indeed answer to their magnitudes & orbs, & come nearest to mathematical observations, & precedent calculations; there is no repugnancy to physical axioms, because no penetration of orbs: but then, between the sphere of *Saturn* and the Firmament, there is such an incredible and vast ⁵space or distance (7,000,000 semidiameters of the earth, as *Tycho* calculates) void of stars: and besides they do so enhance the bigness of the stars, enlarge their circuit, to solve those ordinary objections of Parallaxes & Retrogradations of the fixed stars, that alteration of the Poles, elevation in several places or latitude of Cities here on earth (for, say they, if a man's eye were in the Firmament, he should not at

¹ Virg. *Æn.* x. 248. Swifter than a dart or arrow rivalling the winds in speed.]

² Which seems incredible.] ³ Dist. 3. gr. 1. à Polo. ⁴ *Præf. Ephem.*

⁵ Which may be full of Planets, perhaps, to us unseen, as those about Jupiter, &c.

all discern that great annual motion of the earth, but it would still appear *punctum indivisibile*,¹ & seem to be fixed in one place, of the same bigness) that it is quite opposite to reason, to natural philosophy, and all out as absurd as disproportional (so some will) as prodigious, as that of the Sun's swift motion of Heavens. But *hypothesito*,² to grant this their tenent of the earth's motion: if the earth move, it is a Planet, & shines to them in the Moon, & to the other Planetary Inhabitants, as the Moon and they to us upon the earth: but shine she doth, as *Galileo*,³ *Kepler*, and others prove, and then, *per consequens*,⁴ the rest of the Planets are inhabited, as well as the Moon, which he grants in his dissertation with *Galileo's Nuncius Sidereus*,⁵ that there be Jovial & Saturnine Inhabitants, &c. & those several Planets have their several Moons about them, as the earth hath her's, as *Galileo* hath already evinced by his glasses: ⁶four about *Jupiter*, two about *Saturn* (though *Sitius* the *Florentine*, *Fortunus Licetus*, and *Jul. Cæsar la Galla* cavil at it): yet *Kepler*, the Emperor's Mathematician, confirms out of his experience that he saw as much by the same help, & more about *Mars*, *Venus*; and the rest they hope to find out, peradventure even amongst the fixed stars, which *Brunus* & *Brutius* have already averred. Then (I say) the earth and they be Planets alike, inhabited alike, moved about the Sun, the common Center of the World alike, and it may be those two green children which ⁷*Nubrigensis* speaks of in his time, that fell from Heaven, came from thence; and that famous stone that fell from heaven in *Aristotle's* time, Olymp. 84, anno tertio, ad *Capuæ Fluenta*, recorded by *Laertius*, [ii. 3.] and others, or *Ancile* or buckler in *Numa's* time, recorded by *Festus*.⁸ We may likewise insert with *Campanella* and *Brunus* that which *Pythagoras*, *Aristarchus Samius*, *Heraclitus*, *Epicurus*, *Melissus*, *Democritus*,

[¹ An indivisible point.] [² Cic. Div. i. 52, 118, = this being assumed.] [³ Luna circumterrestris Planeta quum sit, consentaneum est esse in Luna viventes creaturas; et singulis Planetarum globis sui serviunt circulatores, ex qua consideratione de eorum incolis summa probabilitate concludimus, quod et Tychoni Braheo, è sola consideratione vastitatis eorum, visum fuit. Kepl. dissert. cum. nun. sid. f. 29.]

[⁴ By consequence.] [⁵ Temperare non possum quin ex inventis tuis hoc moneam, veri non absimile, non tam in Luna, sed etiam in Jove, et reliquis Planetis incolas esse. Kepl. fo. 26. Si non sint accolæ in Jovis globo, qui notent admirandam hanc varietatem oculis, cui bono quatuor illi Planetæ Jovem circumcursant?]

[⁶ Some of those above Jupiter I have seen myself by the help of a glass eight feet long. [⁷ Rerum Angl. l. i. c. 27 de viridibus pueris. [⁸ See Livy i. 20.]

Leucippus, maintained in their ages, there be ¹*infinite Worlds*, and infinite earths or systems, *in infinito æthere*, which ²*Eusebius* collects out of their tenents, because infinite stars and planets like unto this of ours, which some stick not still to maintain, and publicly defend, *sperabundus exspecto innumerabilium mundorum in æternitate perambulationem, &c.* (*Nic. Hill. Londinensis, philosoph. Epicur.*) For if the Firmament be of such an incomparable bigness, as these Copernical Giants will have it, *infinitum, aut infinito proximum*, so vast and full of innumerable stars, as being infinite in extent, one above another, some higher, some lower, some nearer, some farther off, and so far asunder, and those so huge and great: insomuch that, if the whole sphere of *Saturn*, and all that is included in it, *totum aggregatum* (as *Fromundus* of *Louvain* in his tract *de immobilitate terræ* argues) *evehatur inter stellas, videri à nobis non poterat, tam inmanis est distantia inter tellurum & fixas, sed instar puncti, &c.* If our world be small in respect, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds, those infinite stars visible in the Firmament to be so many Suns, with particular fixt Centers; to have likewise their subordinate Planets, as the Sun hath his dancing still round him? which Cardinal *Cusanus*, *Walkarinus*, *Brunus*, and some others, have held, and some still maintain. *Animæ Aristotelismo innutritæ, et minutis speculationibus assuetæ, secus forsan, &c.* Though they seem close to us, they are infinitely distant, and so, *per consequens*,³ there are infinite habitable worlds: what hinders? Why should not an infinite cause (as God is) produce infinite effects? as *Nic. Hill*, *Democrit. philos.* disputes. *Kepler* (I confess) will by no means admit of *Brunus'* infinite worlds, or that the fixed stars should be so many Suns, with their compassing Planets, yet the said ⁴*Kepler* betwixt jest and earnest in his *Perspectives*, *Lunar Geography*, ⁵*et Somnio suo, Dissertat. cum nunc. sider.* seems in part to agree with this, and partly to contradict. For the Planets, he yields them to be inhabited, he doubts of the Stars: and so doth *Tycho* in his *Astronomical Epistles*, out of a consideration of their vastity and greatness, break out into some such like speeches, that he will never believe those great and huge bodies were made

¹ Infiniti alii mundi, vel, ut *Brunus*, terræ huic nostræ similes. ² Libro cont. philos. cap. 29. [³ By consequence.] ⁴ *Kepler* fol. 2. dissert. Quid impedit quin credamus ex his initiis plures alios mundos detegendos, vel (ut *Democrito* placuit) infinitos? ⁵ *Lege Somnium Kepleri*, edit. 1635.

to no other use than this that we perceive, to illuminate the earth, a point insensible, in respect of the whole. But who shall dwell in these vast bodies, Earths, Worlds, *'if they be inhabited? rational creatures?* as *Kepler* demands, *or have they souls to be saved? or do they inhabit a better part of the World than we do? Are we or they Lords of the World?* And how are all things made for man? *Efficile est nodum hunc expedire, ed quod nondum omnia quæ huc pertinent explorata habemus:* 'tis hard to determine; this only he proves, that we are in *præcipuo mundi sinu*, in the best place, best World, nearest the heart of the Sun. ²*Thomas Campanella*, a *Calabrian Monk*, in his second book *de sensu rerum*, cap. 4, subscribes to this of *Kepler*; that they are inhabited he certainly supposeth, but with what kind of creatures he cannot say, he labours to prove it by all means, and that there are infinite Worlds, having made apology for *Galileo*, and dedicates this tenent of his to Cardinal *Cajetan*. Others freely speak, mutter, and would persuade the world (as ³*Marinus Marcenus* complains) that our modern Divines are too severe and rigid against Mathematicians, ignorant and peevish in not admitting their true demonstrations and certain observations, that they tyrannize over art, science, and all philosophy, in suppressing their labours (saith *Pomponatius*) forbidding them to write, to speak a truth, all to maintain their superstition, and for their profit's sake. As for those places of Scripture which oppugn it, they will have [them] spoken *ad captum vulgi*,⁴ and if rightly understood, and favourably interpreted, not at all against it: and as *Otho Casman*, *Astrol. cap. 1. part. 1.* notes, many great Divines, besides *Porphyrus*, *Proclus*, *Simplicius*, and those Heathen Philosophers, *doctrina et ætate venerandi*, *Mosis Genesin mundanam popularis nescio cujus ruditatibus, quæ longa absit à verâ Philosophorum eruditione, insimulant.*⁵ For *Moses* makes mention but of two Planets, ☉ and ☾, no 4 elements, &c. Read more in him, in ⁶*Grossius* and *Junius*. But

¹ Quid igitur inquires, si sint in cælo plures globi, similes nostræ telluris? an cum illis certabimus, quis meliorem mundi plagam teneat? Sæ nobiliores illorum globi, nos non sumus creaturarum rationalium nobilissimi: quomodo igitur omnia propter hominem? quomodo nos domini operum Dei? *Kepler. fol. 29.* ² *Frankfort, quarto, 1620. ibid. 40. 1622.* ³ *Præfat. in Comment. in Genesin. Modo suadent Theologos summa ignoratione versari, veras scientias admittere nolle, et tyrannidem exercere, ut eos falsis dogmatibus, superstitionibus, et religione Catholica detineant.* [⁴ In a popular sense.] [⁵ Famous for their age and learning, argue that the *Genesis* of *Moses* is written in a popular sense, since it is far out from true philosophical learning.] ⁶ *Theat. Biblico.*

to proceed, these and such like insolent and bold attempts, prodigious paradoxes, inferences must needs follow, if it once be granted, which *Rotman*, *Kepler*, *Gilbert*, *Diggeus*, *Origanus*, *Galileo*, and others, maintain of the Earth's motion, that 'tis a Planet, and shines as the Moon doth, which contains in it both land and sea as the Moon doth: for so they find by their glasses those *maculæ in facie Lunæ*,² the brighter parts are Earth, the dusky Sea, which *Thales*, *Plutarch*. and *Pythagoras* formerly taught: and manifestly discern Hills and Dales, and such like concavities, if we may subscribe to and believe *Galileo's* observations. But to avoid these paradoxes of the Earth's motion (which the Church of *Rome* hath lately³ condemned as heretical, as appears by *Blancanus'* and *Fromundus'* writings) our latter Mathematicians have rolled all the stones that may be stirred: and, to solve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the World, out of their own *Dædalean* heads. *Fracastorius* will have the Earth stand still, as before; and, to avoid that supposition of *Eccentrics* & *Epicycles*, he hath coined 72 Homocentrics, to solve all appearances. *Nicholas Ramerus* will have the Earth the Center of the World, but moveable, and the eighth sphere immoveable, the five upper Planets to move above the Sun, the Sun and Moon about the Earth. Of which Orbs, *Tycho Brahe* puts the Earth the Center immoveable, the stars immoveable, the rest with *Ramus*, the Planets without Orbs to wander in the Air, keep time and distance, true motion, according to that virtue which God hath given them. ⁴*Helisæus Ræslin* censureth both, with *Copernicus* (whose Hypothesis *de terræ motu Philippus Lansbergius* hath lately vindicated, and demonstrated with solid arguments in a just volume, *Jansonius Cæsius*⁵ hath illustrated in a sphere). The said *Johannes Lansbergius*, 1633, hath since defended his assertion against all the cavils and calumnies of *Fromundus* his *Anti-Aristarchus*, *Baptista Morinus*, and *Petrus Bartholinus*: *Fromundus*, 1634, hath written against him again, *J. Rosseus of Aberdeen*,⁶ &c. (sound Drums and Trumpets), whilst *Ræslin* (I say) censures all, and *Ptolemæus* himself as insufficient: one offends against natural Philosophy, another against Optick principles, a third against Mathematical, as not answering to Astro-

¹ His argumentis plane satisfecisti, do maculas in Luna esse maria, do lucidas partes esse terram. Kepler. fol. 16. [² Those spots in the moon's orb.] ³ Anno 1616. ⁴ In Hypothes. de mundo. Edit. 1597. ⁵ Lugduni, 1633.

nomical observations: one puts a great space betwixt *Saturn's* Orb and the eighth sphere, another too narrow. In his own *hypothesis* he makes the Earth as before the universal Center, the Sun ¹ the five upper Planets, to the eighth sphere he ascribes diurnal motion, Eccentricicks and Epicycles to the seven Planets, which had been formerly exploded; and so,

Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt,¹

as a tinker stops one hole and makes two, he corrects them, and doth worse himself, reforms some, and mars all. In the mean time the World is tossed in a blanket amongst them, they hoise the Earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures. One saith the Sun stands, another he moves; a third comes in, taking them all at rebound, and, lest there should any paradox be wanting, he ² finds certain spots and clouds in the Sun by the help of glasses, which multiply (saith *Kepler*) a thing seen a thousand times bigger *in plano*, and makes it come 32 times nearer to the eye of the beholder: but see the demonstration of this glass in ³ *Tarde*, by means of which the Sun must turn round upon his Center, or they about the Sun. *Fabricius* puts only three, and those in the Sun: *Apelles* 15, and those without the Sun, floating like the *Cyanean* Isles in the *Euxine* Sea. ⁴ *Tarde* the Frenchman hath observed 33, and those neither spots nor clouds, as *Galileo*, *Epist. ad Velsorum*, supposeth, but Planets concentrick with the Sun, and not far from him, with regular motions. ⁵ *Christopher Scheiner*, a German Suisser Jesuit, *Ursica Rosa*, divides them *in maculas et faculas*, and will have them to be fixed *in Solis superficie*, and to absolve their periodical and regular motion in 27 or 28 days, holding withal the rotation of the Sun upon his Center; and are all so confident, that they have made schemes and tables of their motions. The ⁶ *Hollander*, in his *dissertation-cula cum Apelle*, censures all; and thus they disagree amongst themselves, old and new, irreconcilable in their opinions; thus *Aristarchus*, thus *Hipparchus*, thus *Ptolemaeus*, thus *Albateginus*, thus *Alfraganus*, thus *Tycho*, thus *Ramus*, thus *Ræslinus*, thus *Fracastorius*, thus *Copernicus* and his adherents, thus *Clavius* and

[1 Hor. Sat. i. ii. 24.] ² Jo. Fabricius de maculis in sole. Witeb. 1611. ³ In Bourboniis sideribus. ⁴ Lib. de Bourboniis sid. Stellæ sunt erraticæ, quæ propriis orbibus feruntur, non longè a Sole dissitis, sed juxta Solem. ⁵ Braccini, fol. 1630. lib. 4. cap. 52, 55, 59, &c. ⁶ Lugdun. Bat. An. 1612.

Maginus, &c. with their followers, vary and determine of these celestial orbs and bodies; and so, whilst these men contend about the Sun and Moon, like the Philosophers in *Lucian*, it is to be feared the Sun and Moon will hide themselves, and be as much offended as ¹she was with those, and send another message to *Jupiter*, by some new fangled *Icaromenippus*,² to make an end of all those curious controversies, and scatter them abroad.

But why should the Sun and Moon be angry, or take exceptions at Mathematicians and Philosophers, when as the like measure is offered unto God himself by a company of Theologasters? They are not contented to see the Sun and Moon, measure their site and biggest distance in a glass; calculate their motions, or visit the Moon in a Poetical fiction, or a dream, as he saith, ³*audax facinus et memorabile nunc incipiam, neque hoc sæculo usurpatum prius; quid in Lunæ Regno hæc nocte gestum sit exponam, et quo nemo unquam nisi somniando pervenit*,⁴ but he and *Menippus*: or as ⁵*Peter Cuneus, bonâ fide agam, nihil eorum quæ scripturus sum, verum esse scitote, &c. quæ nec facta, nec futura sunt, dicam*, ⁶*stili tantum & ingenii causa*,⁷ not in jest, but in good earnest, these Gigantical Cyclopes will transcend spheres, heaven, stars, into that *Empyrean* Heaven; soar higher yet, and see what God himself doth. The Jewish Talmudists take upon them to determine how God spends his whole time, sometimes playing with Leviathan, sometimes over-seeing the world, &c. like *Lucian's Jupiter*, that spent much of the year in painting butter-flies' wings, and seeing who offered sacrifice; telling the hours when it should rain, how much snow should fall in such a place, which way the wind should stand in *Greece*, which way in *Africa*.⁸ In the Turks' *Alcoran Mahomet* is taken up to Heaven upon a *Pegasus* sent a purpose for him, as he lay in bed with his wife, and after some conference with God is set on ground again. The Pagans paint him and mangle him after a

¹ Ne se subdant, et relictâ statione decessum parent, ut curiositatis finem faciant. [² See *Lucian's Icaromenippus*.] ³ Hercules, tuam fidem! *Satira Menip.* edit. 1608. [⁴ I shall now venture upon a bold and memorable exploit, one never before attempted in this age. I shall explain this night's transactions in the Kingdom of the Moon, a place where no one has yet arrived, save in his dreams.] ⁵ *Sardi venales. Satir. Menip. An. 1612.* ⁶ *Puteani Comus sic incipit, or as Lipsius' Satire in a dream.* [⁷ I will act *bonâ fide*, know that none of the things which I am going to write are true, I am going to speak of what never took place, nor ever will take place, just out of ingenuity to keep my hand in.] [⁸ See *Lucian's Icaromenippus*, § 26.]

thousand fashions; our Hereticks, Schismaticks, and some Schoolmen, come not far behind: some paint him in the habit of an old man, and make Maps of Heaven, number the Angels, tell their several names, offices: some deny God and his providence; some take his office out of his hand, will bind and loose in Heaven, release, pardon, forgive, and be quartermaster with him; some call his Godhead in question, his power, and attributes, his mercy, justice, providence; they will know with ³*Cacilius*, why good and bad are punished together, [why] war, fires, plagues infect all alike, why wicked men flourish, good are poor, in prison, sick, and ill at ease. Why doth he suffer so much mischief and evil to be done, if he be able to help? why doth he not assist good, or resist bad, reform our wills, if he be not the author of sin, and let such enormities be committed, unworthy of his knowledge, wisdom, government, mercy, and providence? why lets he all things be done by fortune and chance? Others as prodigiously enquire after his omnipotency, *an possit plures similes creare Deos? an ex scarabeo Deum? &c. et quo demum ruetis, sacrificuli?* Some, by visions and revelations, take upon them to be familiar with God, and to be of privy counsel with him; they will tell how many, and who, shall be saved, when the World shall come to an end, what year, what month, and whatsoever else God hath reserved unto himself, and to his Angels. Some again, curious phantasticks, will know more than this, and enquire with ⁵*Epicurus*, what God did before the World was made? was he idle? Where did he bide? What did he make the World of? Why did he then make it, and not before? If he made it new, or to have an end, how is he unchangeable, infinite? &c. Some will dispute, cavil, and object, as *Julian* did of old, whom *Cyril* confutes,⁶ as *Simon Magus* is feigned to do, in that dialogue betwixt him and *Peter*: and *Ammonius* the Philosopher, in that dialogical disputation with *Zacharias* the Christian. If God be infinitely and only good, why should he alter or destroy

¹ Trithemius, l. de 7. secundis. ² They have fetched Trajanus' soul out of Hell, and canonize for Saints whom they list. ³ In Minucius. Sine defectu tempestates tangunt loca sacra et profana; bonorum et malorum fata juxta; nullo ordine res fiunt; soluta legibus fortuna dominatur. [cap. xii.] ⁴ Vel malus vel impotens, qui peccatum permittit, &c. unde hæc superstitio? [Idem. cap. xii.] ⁵ Quid fecit Deus ante mundum creatum? Ubi vixit otiosus à suo subjecto, &c. [⁶ See Socr. iii. 20; Rufinus, i. 37.] ⁷ Lib. 3. recog. Pet. cap. 3. Peter answers by the simile of an egg-shell, which is cunningly made, yet of necessity to be broken; so is the World, &c., that the excellent state of Heaven might be made manifest.

the World? if he confound that which is good, how shall himself continue good? if he pull it down because evil, how shall he be free from the evil that made it evil? &c. with many such absurd and bráinsick questions, intricacies, froth of human wit, and excrements of curiosity, &c. which, as our Saviour told his inquisitive Disciples, are not fit for them to know. But hoo! I am now gone quite out of sight, I am almost giddy with roving about: I could have ranged farther yet, but I am an infant, and not 'able to dive into these profundities, or sound these depths, not able to understand, much less to discuss. I leave the contemplation of these things to stronger wits, that have better ability, and happier leasure, to wade into such Philosophical mysteries: for put case I were as able as willing, yet what can one man do? I will conclude with ²*Scaliger*, *Nequaquam nos homines sumus; sed partes hominis; ex omnibus aliquid fieri potest, idque non magnum, ex singulis ferè nihil*. Besides (as *Nazianzen*³ hath it) *Deus latere nos multa voluit*: and with *Seneca*, *cap. 35. de Cometis*, *Quid miramur tam rara mundi spectacula non teneri certis legibus, nondum intelligi? multe sunt gentes, quæ tantum de facie sciunt cælum: veniet tempus fortasse, quo ista quæ nunc latent in lucem dies extrahat longioris ævi diligentia; una ætas non sufficit, posteris*, &c. when God sees his time, he will reveal these mysteries to mortal men, and shew that to some few at last, which he hath concealed so long. For I am of 'his mind, that *Columbus* did not find out *America* by chance, but God directed him at that time to discover it: it was contingent to him, but necessary to God; he reveals and conceals, to whom and when he will. And which 'one said of Histories and Records of former times, *God in his providence, to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps up all things in uncertainty, bars us from long antiquity, and bounds our search within the compass of some few ages*. Many good things are lost, which our predecessors made use of, as *Panciroli*⁶ will better inform you; many new things are daily invented, to the publick good; so Kingdoms, men, and knowledge, ebb and flow, are hid and revealed, and when you have all done, as the Preacher concluded, *Nihil est sub sole novum*.⁷ But my

¹ Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus. ² Exercit. 184. [³ See Carminum, Lib. i. Theologica. De Providentia.] ⁴ Laet. descript. occid. Indice.
⁵ Daniel, principio historie. [⁶ Panciroli was a Lawyer of Lombardy. Salmuth translated one of his works into Latin from the Italian.] [⁷ Ecclesiastes, i. 11. There is nothing new under the sun.]

melancholy spaniel's quest, my game is sprung, and I must suddenly come down & follow.

Jason Pratensis, in his book *de morbis capitis*, and chapter of Melancholy, hath these words out of *Galen*,¹ *Let them come to me to know what meat and drink they shall use ; and, besides that, I will teach them what temper of ambient Air they shall make choice of, what wind, what countries they shall choose, and what avoid.* Out of which lines of his thus much we may gather, that to this cure of melancholy, amongst other things, the rectification of Air is necessarily required. This is performed, either in reforming Natural or Artificial Air. Natural is that which is in our election to choose or avoid : and 'tis either general, to Countries, Provinces ; [or] particular, to Cities, Towns, Villages, or private houses. What harm those extremities of heat or cold do in this malady, I have formerly shewed : the *medium* must needs be good, where the Air is temperate, serene, quiet, free from bogs, fens, mists, all manner of putrefaction, contagious and filthy noisome smells. The *Egyptians* by all Geographers are commended to be *hilares*, a conceited² and merry Nation : which I can ascribe to no other cause than the serenity of their Air. They that live in the *Orcades* are registered by *Hector Boethius* and *Cardan* to be fair of complexion, long-lived, most healthful, free from all manner of infirmities of body and mind, by reason of a sharp purifying Air, which comes from the Sea. The *Boetians* in *Greece* were dull and heavy, *crassi Boëti*, by reason of a foggy Air in which they lived,

(*Boëotum in crasso jurares aëre natum*),

Attica most acute, pleasant, and refined.⁷ The Clime changeth not so much customs, manners, wits (as *Aristotle*, *Polit. lib. 6. cap. 4*, *Vegetius*, *Plato*, *Bodine*, *method. hist. cap. 5*, hath proved at large) as constitutions of their bodies, temperature itself. In all particular Provinces we see it confirmed by experience ; as the Air is, so are the Inhabitants, dull, heavy, witty, subtle, neat, cleanly, clownish, sick, and sound. In *Périgord* in *France* the Air is subtle, healthful, seldom any plague or contagious disease, but hilly and barren : the men sound, nimble, and lusty ; but in some parts of

¹ Veniant ad me audituri quo esculento, quo item poculento uti debeant, et præter alimentum ipsum potumque, ventos ipsos docebo, item aëris ambientis temperiem, insuper regiones quas eligere, quas vitare ex usu sit. ² Leo Afer, Maginus, &c. (³ = Playful.) ⁴ Lib. 1. Scot. Hist. ⁵ Lib. 1. de rer. var. ⁶ Horat. [Epp. ii. l. 244.] [⁷ See Cic. De Fato, cap. iv. § 7.] ⁸ Maginus.

Guienne full of Moors and Marshes, the people dull, heavy, and subject to many infirmities. Who sees not a great difference betwixt *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and *Romney Marsh*, the Wolds in *Lincolnshire*, and the Fens. He therefore that loves his health, if his ability will give him leave, must often shift places, and make choice of such as are wholesome, pleasant, and convenient: there is nothing better than change of Air in this Malady, and generally for health to wander up and down, as those *Tartari Zamolhenses*, that live in hordes, and take opportunity of times, places, seasons. The Kings of *Persia* had their Summer and Winter Houses, in Winter at *Sardis*, in Summer at *Susa*, now at *Persepolis*, then at *Pasargada*. *Cyrus* lived seven cold months at *Babylon*, three at *Susa*, two at *Ecbatana*, saith *Xenophon*, and had by that means a perpetual Spring. The great *Turk* sojourns sometimes at *Constantinople*, sometimes at *Adrianople*, &c. The Kings of *Spain* have their *Escorial* in heat of Summer, *Madrid* for an wholesome seat, *Valladolid* a pleasant site, &c. variety of *secessus*,¹ as all Princes and great men have, and their several progresses to this purpose. *Lucullus* the *Roman* had his house at *Rome*, at *Baïæ*, &c. ² When *Cn. Pompeius*, *Marcus Cicero* (saith *Plutarch*) and many Noble men in the Summer came to see him, at supper *Pompeius* jested with him, that it was an elegant and pleasant Village, full of windows, galleries, and all offices fit for a Summer-House, but in his judgement very unfit for Winter: *Lucullus* made answer that the Lord of the House had wit like a Crane, that changeth her country with the season; he had other houses furnished and built for that purpose, all out as commodious as this. So *Tully* had his *Tusculanum*, *Pliny* his *Larian* Village, and every Gentleman of any fashion in our times hath the like. The ³ Bishop of *Exeter* had 14 several Houses all furnished, in times past. In *Italy*, though they bide in Cities in Winter, which is more Gentleman-like, all the Summer they come abroad to their

¹ Haitonus, de Tartaris. ² Cyropæd. lib. 8. [cap. 6. § 22.] Perpetuum inde Ver. ³ The Air so clear, it never breeds the plague. [⁴ Retreats.] ⁵ Leander Albertus in Campania, à Plutarcho, vitâ Luculli. [§ 39.] Cum Cn. Pompeius, Marcus Cicero, multique nobiles viri L. Lucillum æstivo tempore convenissent, Pompeius inter cœnandum familiariter iocatus est, eam villam imprimis sibi sumptuosam et elegantem videri, fenestris, porticibus, &c. [Note Village in the text uniquely used twice as = Villa.] [⁶ Pliny, Epistles, Book ix. Ep. 7.] ⁷ Godwin, vita Jo. Voysey, al. Harman. [John Voysey was Bishop of Exeter, 1519—1551, when he resigned, and Miles Coverdale was Bishop instead, 1551—1553, when John Voysey was restored, who probably died in 1555.]

Country-Houses, to recreate themselves. Our Gentry in *England* live most part in the Country (except it be some few Castles) building still in bottoms (saith ¹*Jovius*) or near woods, *corona arborum virentium*; you shall know a Village by a tuft of trees at it about it, to avoid those strong winds wherewith the Island is infected, and cold Winter blasts. Some discommend moated houses, as unwholesome, (so *Camden* saith of ²*Ew-elme*, that it was therefore unfrequented, *ob stagni vicini halitus*), and all such places as be near lakes or rivers. But I am of opinion that these inconveniences will be mitigated, or easily corrected, by good fires, as ³one reports of *Venice*, that [that] *graveolentia* and fog of the moors is sufficiently qualified by those innumerable smokes. Nay more, ⁴*Thomas Philo.* *Ravennas*, a great Physician, contends that the *Venetians* are generally longer lived than any City in *Europe*, & live many of them 120 years. But it is not water simply that so much offends as the slime and noisome smells that accompany such overflowed places, which is but at some few seasons after a flood, and is sufficiently recompensed with sweet smells and aspects in Summer, *Ver pinget vario gemmantia prata colore*,⁵ and many other commodities of pleasure and profit; or else may be corrected by the site, if it be somewhat remote from the water, as *Lindley*, ⁶*Orton super montem*, ⁷*Drayton*, or a little more elevated, though nearer, as ⁸*Caucut*, as ⁹*Amington*, ¹⁰*Polesworth*, ¹¹*Weddington* (to insist in such places best to me known, upon the river of *Anker* in *Warwickshire*, ¹²*Swarston*, and ¹³*Drakesly* upon *Trent*). Or ¹⁴howsoever they be unseasonable in Winter, or at some times, they have their good use in Summer. If so be that their means be so slender, as they may not admit of any such variety, but must determine once for all, and make one house serve each season, I know no men that have given better rules in this behalf than our husbandry writers. ¹⁵*Cato* and *Columella* prescribe a good house to stand by a navigable river, good high-ways, near some City and in a good soil, but that is more for commodity than health.

¹ Descript. Brit. ² In Oxfordshire. ³ Leander Albertus. ⁴ Cap. 21. de vit. hom. prorog. [⁵ Spring will variegate the fields with countless hues.] ⁶ The possession of Robert Bradshaw, Esq. ⁷ [The possession] of George Purefey, Esq. ⁸ The possession of William Purefey, Esq. ⁹ The seat of Sir John Reppington, Kt. ¹⁰ [The seat of] Sir Henry Goodier, lately deceased. ¹¹ The dwelling-house of Hum. Adderly, Esq. ¹² Sir John Harpar's, lately deceased. ¹³ [The seat of] Sir George Greslies, Kt. [¹⁴ Qu. For?] ¹⁵ Lib. 1. cap. 2.

The best soil commonly yields the worst Air, a dry sandy plat is fittest to build upon, and such as is rather hilly than plain, full of Downs, a *Cotswold* country, as being most commodious for hawking, hunting, wood, waters, and all manner of pleasures. *Périgord* in *France* is barren, yet by reason of the excellency of the air, and such pleasures that it affords, much inhabited by the Nobility; as *Nuremberg* in *Germany*, *Toledo* in *Spain*. Our countryman *Tusser* will tell us so much, that the fieldone is for profit, the woodland for pleasure and health, the one commonly a deep clay, therefore noisome in Winter, and subject to bad highways, the other a dry sand. Provision may be had elsewhere, and our Towns are generally bigger in the woodland than the fieldone, more frequent and populous, and Gentlemen more delight to dwell in such places. *Sutton Coldfield* in *Warwickshire* (where I was once a Grammar Scholar) may be a sufficient witness, which stands, as *Camden* notes, *loco ingrato et sterili*,¹ but in an excellent air, and full of all manner of pleasures. ² *Wadley* in *Berkshire* is situate in a vale, though not so fertile, a soil as some vales afford, yet a most commodious site, wholesome, in a delicious air, a rich and pleasant seat. So *Segrave* in *Leicestershire* (which Town ³ I am now bound to remember) is sited in a Champaign, at the edge of the Wolds, and more barren than the villages about it, yet no place likely yields a better air. And he that built that fair house ⁴ *Wollerton* in *Nottinghamshire* is much to be commended, (though the tract be sandy and barren about it), for making choice of such a place. *Constantine*, lib. 2. cap. de agricult. praiseth mountains, hilly, steep places, above the rest by the Sea side, and such as look toward the ⁵ North upon some great river, as ⁶ *Farmack* in *Derbyshire* on the *Trent*, environed with hills, open only to the North, like Mount *Edgemond* in *Cornwall*, which Mr. ⁷ *Carew* so much admires for an excellent seat: such as is the general site of *Bohemia*: serenat *Boreas*, the North wind clarifies; ⁸ but near lakes or marshes, in holes, obscure places, or to the South and West, he utterly disapproves; those winds are un-

[¹ In a bad and barren situation.] ² The seat of G. Purefey, Esq. ³ For I am now Incumbent of that Rectory, presented thereto by my Right Honourable Patron the Lord Berkley. ⁴ Sir Francis Willoughby. ⁵ Montani et maritimi salubriores, acclives, et ad Boream vergentes. ⁶ The dwelling of Sir To. Burdet, Knight Baronet. ⁷ In his survey of Cornwall, book 2. [Now known as Mount Edgcombe.] ⁸ Propè paludes, stagna, et loca concava, vel ad Austrum, vel ad Occidentem inclinatæ, domus sunt morbosæ.

wholesome, putrifying, and make men subject to diseases. The best building for health, according to him, is in ¹ *high places, and in an excellent prospect*, like that of *Cuddesdon in Oxfordshire* (which place I must *honoris ergo* mention) is lately and fairly ² built in a good air, good prospect, good soil, both for profit and pleasure, not so easily to be matched. *P. Crescentius*, in his *lib. 1. de Agric. cap. 5*, is very copious in this subject, how a house should be wholesomely sited, in a good coast, good air, wind, &c. *Varro, de re rust. lib. 1. cap. 12*, ³ forbids lakes and rivers, marish and manured grounds; they cause a bad air, gross diseases, hard to be cured: ⁴ *if it be so that he cannot help it, better, as he adviseth, sell thy house and land, than lose thine health*. He that respects not this in choosing of his seat, or building his house, is *mente captus*, mad, *Cato* saith, *and his dwelling next to Hell itself*, according to *Columella*: ⁵ he commends in conclusion the middle of an hill, upon a descent. *Baptista Porta, Villa, l. 1. cap. 22*, censures *Varro, Cato, Columella*, and those ancient Rusticks, approving many things, disallowing some, and will by all means have the front of an house stand to the South, which how it may be good in *Italy* and hotter Climes, I know not, in our Northern Countries I am sure it is best. *Stephanus*, a Frenchman, *prædio rustic. lib. 1. cap. 4*, subscribes to this, approving especially the descent of an hill South or South-East, with trees to the North, so that it be well watered; a condition in all sites which must not be omitted, as *Herbaſtein* inculcates, *lib. 1. Julius Cæsar Claudinus*, a Physician. *consult. 24*, for a Nobleman in *Poland*, melancholy given, adviseth him to dwell in a house inclining to the ⁶ East, and ⁷ by all means to provide the air be clear and sweet; which *Montanus, consil. 229*, counselleth the Earl of *Montfort* his patient, to inhabit a pleasant house, and in a good air. If it be so the natural site may not be altered of our City, Town, Village, yet by artificial means it may be helped. In hot countries therefore they make the streets of their Cities very narrow, all over *Spain*,

¹ Oportet igitur ad sanitatem domus in altioribus ædificare, et ad speculationem.

² By John Bancroft, Dr. of Divinity, my quondam tutor in Christ-church, Oxon, now the Right Reverend Lord Bishop of Oxon, who built this house for himself and his successors. [Bishop of Oxford, 1632—1641.] ³ Hieme erit vehementer frigida, et æstate non salubris: paludes enim faciunt crassum aerem, et difficiles morbos.

⁴ Vendas quot assibus possis, et si nequeas, relinquis. ⁵ Lib. 1. cap. 2. In Orco habitat. ⁶ Aurora Musis amica. Vitruv. [Lib. vi. c. 7. "Cubicula et Bibliothecæ ad Orientem spectare debent."] ⁷ Ædes Orientem spectantes vi nobilissimus inhabitet, et curet ut sit aer clarus, lucidus, odoriferus. Eligat habitationem optimo aere jucundam.

Africa, Italy, Greece, and many cities of France, in Languedoc especially, and Provence, those Southern parts: Montpellier, the habitation and University of Physicians, is so built, with high houses, narrow streets, to divert the Sun's scalding rays, which Tacitus commends, l. 15, Annal.¹ as most agreeing to their health, because the height of buildings and narrowness of streets keep away the Sunbeams. Some Cities use Galleries, or arched Cloisters, towards the street, as Damascus, Bologna, Padua, Berne in Switzerland, Westchester,² with us, as well to avoid tempests as the Sun's scorching heat. They build on high hills in hot countries for more air; or to the Sea side, as Baiæ, Naples, &c. In our Northern coasts we are opposite; we commend straight, broad, open, fair streets, as most befitting and agreeing to our climate. We build in bottoms for warmth: and that site of Mitylene in the Island of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea, (which Vitruvius³ so much discommends, magnificently built with fair houses, sed imprudenter positam, [but] unadvisedly sited, because it lay along to the South, and when the South wind blew, the people were all sick,) would make an excellent site in our Northern climes.

Of that artificial site of houses I have sufficiently discoursed: if the air of the dwelling may not be altered, yet there is much in choice of such a chamber or room, in opportune opening and shutting of windows, excluding foreign air and winds, and walking abroad at convenient times. ⁴ Crato, a German, commends East and South site (disallowing cold air and Northern winds in this case, rainy weather and misty days) free from putrefaction, fens, bogs, and muck-hills. If the air be such, open no windows, come not abroad. Montanus will have his patient not to ⁵ stir at all, if the wind be big or tempestuous, as most part in March it is with us; or in cloudy, lowering, dark days, as in November, which we commonly call the black month; or stormy, let the wind stand how it will, consil. 27, and 30, he must not ⁷ open a casement in bad weather, or in a boisterous season; consil. 299, he especially forbids us, to open windows to a South wind. The best site for chamber windows in my judgement are North, East, South, and which is the worst, West. Levinus Lemnius, lib. 3, cap. 3. de occult. nat.

[¹ Cap. 43. memoriter.] ² Quoniam angustiae itinerum et altitudo tectorum non perinde Solis calorem admittunt. [³ = Chester.] [⁴ Lib. i. cap. 6.]
⁵ Consil. 21. lib. 2. Frigidus aer, nubilosus, densus, vitandus, æquè ac venti Septentrionales, &c. ⁶ Consil. 24. ⁷ Fenestram non aperiat.

mir. attributes so much to air, and rectifying of wind and windows, that he holds it alone sufficient to make a man sick or well, to alter body and mind. ¹*A clear air cheers up the spirits, exhilarates the mind; a thick, black, misty, tempestuous, contracts, overthrows.* Great heed is therefore to be taken at what times we walk, how we place our windows, lights, and houses, how we let in or exclude this ambient air. The *Egyptians*, to avoid immoderate heat, make their windows on the top of the house like chimnies, with two tunnels to draw a through air. In *Spain* they commonly make great opposite windows without glass, still shutting those which are next to the Sun. So likewise in *Turkey* and *Italy* (*Venice* excepted, which brags of her stately glazed Palaces) they use paper windows to like purpose: and lie *sub dio*,² in the top of their flat-roofed houses, so sleeping under the canopy of Heaven. In some parts of ³*Italy* they have Windmills, to draw a cooling air out of hollow caves, and disperse the same through all the chambers of their Palaces, to refresh them; as at *Custoza* the house of *Casareo Trento*, a Gentleman of *Vicenza*, and elsewhere. Many excellent means are invented to correct nature by art. If none of these courses help, the best way is to make artificial air, which howsoever is profitable and good, still to be made hot and moist, and to be seasoned with sweet perfumes, ⁴pleasant and lightsome as may be; to have Roses, Violets, and sweet smelling flowers ever in their windows, Posies in their hand. *Laurentius* commends Water-Lilies, a vessel of warm water to evaporate in the room, which will make a more delightsome perfume, if there be added Orange flowers, pills of Citrons, Rosemary, Cloves, Bays, Rose-Water, Rose-Vinegar, Benzoin, Ladanum,⁵ Styrax, and such like Gums, which make a pleasant & acceptable perfume. ⁶*Bessardus Bisantinus* prefers the smoke of Juniper to melancholy persons, which is in great request with us at *Oxford*, to sweeten our chambers. ⁷*Guianerius* prescribes the air to be

¹ Discutit Sol horrorem crassi spiritûs, mentem exhilarat; non enim tam corpora quam et animi mutationem inde subeunt, pro cœli et ventorum ratione, et sani aliter affecti cœlo nubilo, aliter sereno. De naturâ ventorum, see Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 26, 27, 28. Strabo, lib. 7. &c. [² Virg. Georg. iii. 435.] ³ Fynes Moryson, part. i. c. 4. ⁴ Altomarus, cap. 7. Bruel. Aër sit lucidus, benè olens, humidus. Montaltus idem. cap. 26. Olfactus rerum suavium. Laurentius, c. 8. [⁵ Ladanum is perhaps the more correct way of spelling this word. Some spell Labdanum. See Latham's Johnson.] ⁶ Ant. Philos. cap. de melanch. ⁷ Tract. 15. c. 9. Ex redolentibus herbis et foliis vitis viniferæ, salicis, &c.

moistened with water, and sweet herbs boiled in it, vine and sawallow leaves; &c. ¹to besprinkle the ground and posts with Rose-Water, Rose-Vinegar, which *Avicenna* much approves. Of colours it is good to behold green, red, yellow, and white, and all means to have light enough with windows in the day, wax candles in the night, neat chambers, good fires in winter, merry companions; for though melancholy persons love to be dark and alone, yet darkness is a great increaser of the humour.

Although our ordinary air be good by nature or art, yet it is not amiss, as I have said, still to alter it; no better Physick for a melancholy man than change of air and variety of places, to travel abroad and see fashions. ²*Leo Afer* speaks of many of his countrymen so cured, without all other Physick: amongst the *Negroes* there is such an excellent air, that, if any of them be sick elsewhere, and brought thither, he is instantly recovered, of which he was often an eye-witness. ³*Lipsius*, *Zuinger*, and some other, add as much of ordinary travel. No man, saith *Lipsius* in an Epistle to *Philip Lanoius*, a Noble friend of his, now ready to make a voyage, ⁴can be such a stock or stone, whom that pleasant speculation of countries, cities, towns, rivers, will not affect. *Seneca* ⁵the Philosopher was infinitely taken with the sight of *Scipio*, *Africanus*' house, near *Linternum*, to view those old buildings, Cisterns, Baths, Tombs, &c. And how was ⁶*Tully* pleased with the sight of *Athens*, to behold those ancient and fair buildings, with a remembrance of their worthy inhabitants! *Paulus Æmilius*, that renowned Roman Captain, after he had conquered *Perseus*, the last King of *Macedonia*, and now made an end of his tedious wars, though he had been long absent from *Rome*, and much there desired, about the beginning of Autumn, (as ⁷*Livy* describes it), made a pleasant peregrination all over *Greece*, accompanied with his son *Scipio*, and *Athenæus* the brother of king *Eumenes*, leaving the charge of his army with *Sulpicius Gallus*. By *Thessaly* he went to *Delphi*, thence to *Megara*, *Aulis*, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Lacedæmon*, *Megalopolis*, &c. He took great content, exceeding delight, in that his voyage,

¹ Pavimentum aceto et aqua rosacea irrorare, *Laurent. c. 8.* ² Lib. 1. cap. de morb. Afrorum. In Nigritarum regione tanta aeris temperies, ut, si quis alibi morbosus eo advehatur, optimæ statim sanitati restituatur; quod multis accidisse ipse meis oculis vidi. ³ Lib. de peregrinat. ⁴ Epist. 2. cen. 1. Nec quisquam tam lapis aut frutex, quem non titillat amœna illa varique spectio locorum, urbium, gentium, &c. ⁵ Epist. 86. ⁶ Lib. 2. de legibus. [c. 2.] ⁷ Lib. 45. [cap. 27.]

as who doth not that shall attempt the like, though his travel be *ad jactationem magis quam ad usum reipub.* (as ¹ one well observes) to crack, gaze, see fine sights and fashions, spend time, rather than for his own or publick good? (as it is to many gallants that travel on their best days, together with their means, manners, honesty, religion), yet it availeth howsoever. For peregrination charms our senses with such unspeakable and sweet variety,² that some count him unhappy that never travelled, a kind of prisoner, and pity his case that from his cradle to his old age beholds the same still; still, still the same, the same: insomuch that ³*Rhasis, cont. lib. 1. Tract. 2.*, doth not only commend but enjoin travel, and such variety of objects, to a melancholy man, *and to lie in diverse Inns, to be drawn into several companies.* *Montaltus, cap. 36.* and many Neotericks are of the same mind. *Celsus* adviseth him therefore that will continue his health to have *varium vitæ genus*, diversity of callings, occupations, to be busied about,⁴ *sometimes to live in the city, sometimes in the country; now to study or work, to be intent, then again to hawk, or hunt, swim, run, ride, or exercise himself.* A good prospect alone will ease melancholy, as *Gomesius* contends, *l. 2. c. 7. de Sale.* The citizens of ⁵*Barcelona*, saith he, otherwise penned in, melancholy, and stirring little abroad, are much delighted with that pleasant prospect their city hath into the sea, which, like that of old *Athens*, besides *Ægina*, *Salamis*, and many pleasant Islands, had all the variety of delicious objects: so are those *Neapolitans*, and inhabitants of *Genoa*, to see the ships, boats, and passengers go by, out of their windows, their whole cities being sited on the side of an hill, like *Pera* by *Constantinople*, so that each house almost hath a free prospect to the sea, as some part of *London* to the *Thames*: or to have a free prospect all over the city at once, as at *Granada* in *Spain*, and *Fez* in *Africa*, the river running betwixt two declining hills, the steepness causeth each house almost as well to oversee as to be overseen of the rest. Every country is full of such ⁶ delightful prospects, as well within land as by sea, as *Hermon* and ⁷*Ramah* in *Palestine*, *Collalto* in *Italy*, the top of *Taygetus* or *Acrocorinthus*, that old decayed castle in

¹ Keckerman, præfat. polit.

² Fynes Moryson, c. 3. part. i.

³ Mutatio

de loco in locum, itinera, et viagia longa et indeterminata, et hospitare in diversis diversoriis.

⁴ Modò ruri esse, modò in urbe, sæpius in agro venari, &c.

⁵ In Catalonia, in Spain.

⁶ Laudaturque domus longos quæ prospicit agros. [Hor. Epp. i. x. 23.]

⁷ Many towns there are of that name, saith Adricomius, all

high-sited.

Corinth, from which *Peloponnesus*, *Greece*, the *Ionian* and *Ægean* Seas, were *semel & simul* at one view to be taken. In *Egypt* the square top of the great Pyramid, 300 yards in height, and so the *Sultan's* Palace in *Grand Cairo*, the country being plain, hath a marvellous fair prospect, as well over *Nilus* as that great city, five *Italian* miles long and two broad, by the river side: from *Mount Sion* in *Jerusalem* the Holy Land is of all sides to be seen; such high places are infinite: with us those of the best note are *Glas-tonbury* Tower, *Bever* castle, *Rodway Grange*,¹ *Walsby* in *Lincolnshire*, where I lately received a real kindness, by the munificence of the Right Honourable my noble Lady and Patroness, the Lady *Frances*, Countess Dowager of *Exeter*: and two amongst the rest, which I may not omit for vicinity's sake, *Oldbury* in the confines of *Warwickshire*, where I have often looked about me with great delight, at the foot of which hill² I was born: and *Hanbury* in *Staffordshire*, contiguous to which is *Falde*, a pleasant Village, and an ancient patrimony belonging to our family, now in the possession of mine elder brother *William Burton* Esquire. ³*Barclay* the *Scot* commends that of *Greenwich* Tower for one of the best prospects in *Europe*, to see *London* on the one side, the *Thames*, ships, and pleasant meadows, on the other. There be those that say as much and more of *S. Mark's* Steeple in *Venice*. Yet these are at too great distance; some are especially affected with such objects as be near, to see passengers go by in some great road-way, or boats in a river, *in subjectum forum despicere*, to oversee a Fair, a Market place, or out of a pleasant window into some thorough-fare street, to behold a continual concourse, a promiscuous rout, coming and going, or a multitude of spectators at a Theatre, a Mask, or some such like shew. But I rove: the sum is this that variety of actions, objects, air, places, are excellent good in this infirmity and all others, good for man, good for beast. ⁴*Constantine* the Emperor, *lib. 18. c. 13. ex Leontio*, holds it an only cure for rotten sheep, and any manner of sick cattle. *Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus*, that great Doctor, at the latter end of many of his consultations (as commonly he doth set down what success his Physick had) in melancholy most especially approves of this above all

¹ Lately resigned for some special reasons. ² At Lindley in Leicestershire, the possession and dwelling-place of Ralph Burton, Esquire, my late deceased father. ³ In Icon animorum. ⁴ Agrotantes oves in alium locum transportandæ sunt, ut, alium aerem et aquam participantes, coalescant et corroborentur.

other remedies whatsoever, as appears *consult. 69, consult. 229, &c.*
¹ *Many other things helped, but change of air was that which wrought the cure, and did most good.*

MEMB. IV.

Exercise rectified of Body and Mind.

To that great inconvenience, which comes on the one side by immoderate and unseasonable exercise, too much solitariness and idleness on the other, must be opposed, as an Antidote, a moderate and seasonable use of it, and that both of body and mind, as a most material circumstance, much conducing to this cure, and to the general preservation of our health. The Heavens themselves run continually round, the Sun riseth and sets, the Moon increaseth and decreaseth, Stars and Planets keep their constant motions, the air is still tossed by the winds, the waters ebb and flow, to their conservation no doubt, to teach us that we should ever be in action. For which cause *Hierom* prescribes *Rusticus* the Monk, that he be always occupied about some business or other, ² *that the Devil do not find him idle.* ³ *Seneca* would have a man do something, though it be to no purpose. ⁴ *Xenophon* wisheth one rather to play at tables, dice, or make a jester of himself (though he might be far better employed) than do nothing. The ⁵ *Egyptians* of old, and many flourishing Commonwealths since, have enjoined labour and exercise to all sorts of men, to be of some vocation and calling, and to give an account of their time, to prevent those grievous mischiefs that come by idleness; *for as fodder, whip, and burden, belong to the ass, so meat, correction and work unto the servant, Eccus. 33. 24.* The *Turks* enjoin all men whatsoever, of what degree, to be of some trade or other, the *grand Seignior* himself is not excused. ⁶ *In our memory* (saith *Sabellicus*) *Mahomet the Turk, he that conquered Greece, at that very time when he heard*

¹ *Alia utilia, sed ex mutatione aeris potissimum curatus.* ² *Ne te dæmon otiosum inveniat. [Epistle 125.]* ³ *Præstat aliud agere quam nihil.* ⁴ *Lib. 1. de dictis Socratis. [cap. ii. § 57.] Qui tesseri et risui excitando vacant aliquid faciunt, etsi liceat his meliora agere.* ⁵ *Amasis compelled every man once a year to tell how he lived. [Her. ii. 177.]* ⁶ *Nostrâ memoriâ Mahometes Othomanus, qui Græciæ imperium subvertit, cum oratorum postulata audiret exterarum gentium, cochlearia lignea assiduè cælabat, aut aliquid in tabula affingebat.*

Embassadors of other Princes did either carve or cut wooden spoons, or frame something upon a table. ¹This present Sultan makes notches for bows. The *Jews* are most severe in this examination of time. All well-governed Places, Towns, Families, and every discreet person will be a law unto himself. But amongst us the Badge of Gentry is idleness, to be of no calling, not to labour for that's derogatory to their birth, to be a mere spectator, a drone, *fruges consumere natus*,² to have no necessary employment to busy himself about in Church and Commonwealth (some few Governors exempted) *but to rise to eat, &c.* to spend his days in hawking, hunting, &c. and such-like disports and recreations (³which our casuists tax) are the sole exercise almost & ordinary actions of our Nobility, and in which they are too immoderate. And thence it comes to pass that in City and Country so many grievances of body and mind, and this feral disease of Melancholy so frequently rageth, and now domineers almost all over *Europe* amongst our great o.e.s. They know not how to spend their time (disports excepted, which are all their business), what to do, or otherwise how to bestow themselves: like our modern Frenchmen, that had rather lose a pound of blood in a single combat than a drop of sweat in any honest labour. Every man almost hath something or other to employ himself about, some vocation, some trade, but they do all by ministers and servants; *ad otia duntaxat se natos existimant, immd ad sui ipsius plerumque et aliorum perniciem* as one⁴ freely taxeth such kind of men; they are all for pastimes, 'tis all their study; all their invention tends to this alone to drive away time, as if they were born some of them to no other ends. Therefore to correct and avoid these errors and inconveniences, our Divines, Physicians, and Politicians, so much labour, and so seriously exhort; and for this disease in particular ⁵*there can be no better cure than continual business*, as *Rhasis* holds, *to have some employment or other, which may set their mind awork, and distract their cogitations*. Riches may not easily be had without labour and industry, nor learning without study, neither can our health be preserved without bodily exercise. If it be of the body, *Guianerius*

¹ Sands, fol. 37. of his *voyage to Jerusalem*. [² Hor. Epp. i. ii. 27.] ³ Perkins, Cases of Conscience, l. 3. c. 4. q. 3. ⁴ Luscinius Grunnio. ⁵ Non est cura melior quam injungere iis necessaria, et opportuna; operum administratio illis magnum sanitatis incrementum, et quæ repleant animos eorum, et incutiant iis diversæ cogitationes. Cont. i. tract. 9.

allows that exercise which is gentle, ¹ and still after those ordinary frictions, which must be used every morning. *Montaltus*, cap. 26, and *Jason Pratensis* use almost the same words, highly commend ² exercise, if it be moderate; a wonderful help so used, *Crato* calls it, and a great means to preserve our health, as adding strength to the whole body, increasing natural heat, by means of which the nutriment is well concocted in the stomach, liver, and veins, few or no crudities left, is happily distributed over all the body. Besides, it expels excrements by sweat, and other insensible vapours, in so much that ³ *Galen* prefers Exercise before all Physick, Rectification of Diet, or any Regiment ⁴ in what kind soever; 'tis Nature's Physician. ⁵ *Fulgentius*, out of *Gordonius*, de conserv. vit. hom. lib. 1. cap. 7, terms exercise a spur of a dull sleepy nature, the comforter of the members, cure of infirmity, death of diseases, destruction of all mischiefs and vices. The fittest time for exercise is a little before dinner, a little before supper, ⁶ or at any time when the body is empty. *Montanus*, consil. 31, prescribes it every morning to his patient, and that, as ⁷ *Calenus* adds, after he hath done his ordinary needs, rubbed his body, washed his hands and face, combed his head, and gargarized. What kind of exercise he should use *Galen* tells us, lib. 2. & 3. de sanit. tuend. and in what measure, ⁸ till the body be ready to sweat, and roused up; ad ruborem, ⁹ some say, non ad sudorem, ¹⁰ lest it should dry the body too much; others enjoin those wholesome businesses, as to dig so long in his garden, to hold the plough, and the like. Some prescribe frequent and violent labour and exercises, as sawing every day, so long together, (*epid.* 6. *Hippocrates* confounds them), but that is in some cases, to some peculiar men; ¹¹ the most forbid, and by no means will have it go farther than a beginning sweat, as being ¹² perilous if it exceed.

Of these labours, exercises, and recreations, which are likewise included, some properly belong to the body, some to the mind,

¹ Ante exercitium leves toto corpore fricationes conveniunt. Ad hunc morbum exercitationes, quum recte et suo tempore fiunt, misse conducunt, et sanitatem tumentur, &c. ² Lib. 1. de sanitat. tuend. [³ In this sense we generally use regimen now.]

⁴ Exercitium naturæ dormientis stimulat, membrorum solatium, morborum medela, fuga vitiorum, medicina languorum, destructio omnium malorum, *Crato*. ⁵ Alimentis in ventriculo probe concoctis. ⁶ Jejuno ventre, vesica et alvo ab excrementis purgato, fricatis membris, lotis manibus et oculis, &c. Lib. de atra bile. ⁷ Quousque corpus universum intumescat, et floridum appareat, sudoremque, &c. [⁸ To redness.] [⁹ Not to sweat.] ¹⁰ Omnino sudorem vitent, cap. 7. lib. 1. Valescus de Tar. ¹¹ Exercitium si excedat, valde periculosum. *Sallust.* *Salvianus*, de remed. lib. 2. cap. 1.

some more easy, some hard, some with delight, some without, some within doors, some natural, some are artificial. Amongst bodily exercises *Galen* commends *ludum parvæ pilæ*, to play at ball, be it with the hand or racket, in Tennis-courts or otherwise, it exerciseth each part of the body, and doth much good, so that they sweat not too much. It was in great request of old amongst the *Greeks, Romans, Barbarians*, mentioned by *Homer, Herodotus*, and *Pliny*. Some write, that *Aganella*, a fair maid of *Corcyra*, was the inventor of it, for she presented the first ball that ever was made to *Nausicaa*, the daughter of king *Alcinous*, and taught her how to use it.

The ordinary sports which are used abroad are *Hawking, Hunting, hilares venandi labores*,¹ ²one calls them, because they recreate body and mind; ³another the *'best exercise that is, by which alone many have been freed from all feral diseases.* *Hegesippus*,⁴ *lib. 1. cap. 37*, relates of *Herod*, that he was eased of a grievous melancholy by that means. *Plato*, *7. de. leg.* [p. 823] highly magnifies it, dividing it into three parts, by *Land, Water, Air.* *Xenophon*, in *Cyropæd.*⁵ graces it with a great name, *Deorum munus*, the gift of the Gods, a Princely sport, which they have ever used, saith *Langius, epist. 59. lib. 2*, as well for health as pleasure, and do at this day, it being the sole almost and ordinary sport of our Noblemen in *Europe*, and elsewhere all over the world. *Bohemus, de mor. gent. lib. 3. cap. 12*, styles it therefore *studium nobilium; communiter venantur, quod sibi solis licere contendunt*; 'tis all their study, their exercise, ordinary business, all their talk: and indeed some dote too much after it, they can do nothing else, discourse of naught else. *Paulus Jovius, descr. Brit.* doth in some sort tax our *English Nobility* for it, for living in the country so much, and too frequent use of it, as if they had no other means but *Hawking and Hunting* to approve themselves *Gentlemen* with.

Hawking comes near to *Hunting*, the one in the Air, as the

[¹ The cheerful toils of hunt.ing.] ² Camden in Staffordshire. ³ Fridevallius, *lib. 1. cap. 2.* Optima omnium exercitatio; multi ab hac solummodo morbis liberati. ⁴ Josephus Quercetanus, *dialect. polit. sect. 2. cap. 11.* Inter omnia exercitia præstantiæ laudem meretur. ⁵ Chiron in monte Pelio, præceptor heroum, eos à morbis animi venationibus et puris cibis tuebatur. *M. Tyrius.* [⁶ Bell. Jud.] [⁷ This reference, as so often in Burton, is wrong. It should be *De Venatione, cap. i. § 1.*] ⁸ Nobilitas omnis fere urbes fastidit, castellis et liberiore cælo gaudet, generisque dignitatem una maximè venatione et faleonum aucupii tuetur.

other on the Earth, a sport as much affected^f as the other, by some preferred. ¹ It was never heard of amongst the *Romans*, invented some 1200 years since, and first mentioned by *Firmitus*, *lib. 5. cap. 8.* The *Greek* Emperors began it, and now nothing so frequent: he^g no body that in the season hath not a Hawk on his fist. A great Art, and many ² books written of it. It is a wonder to hear what is related of the *Turks*³ Officers in this behalf, how many thousand men are employed about it, how many Hawks of all sorts, how much revenues consumed on that only disport, how much time is spent at *Adrianople* alone every year to that purpose. The ⁴*Persian* Kings hawk after Butterflies with sparrows, made to that use, and stares; ⁵ lesser Hawks for lesser games they have, and bigger for the rest, that they may produce their sport to all seasons. The *Muscovian* Emperors reclaim Eagles to fly at Hinds, Foxes, &c. and such a one was sent for a present to ⁶Queen *Elizabeth*: some reclaim Ravens, Castrils, Pies,⁷ &c. and man them for their pleasures.

Fowling is more troublesome, but all out as delightful to some sorts of men, be it with guns, lime, nets, glades, gins, strings, baits, pitfalls, pipes, calls, stalking-horses, setting-dogs, coy-ducks, &c. or otherwise. Some much delight to take Larks with day-nets, small birds with chaff-nets, plovers, partridges, herons, snite,⁸ &c. *Henry* the Third, King of *Castile* (as *Mariana* the Jesuit reports of him, *lib. 3. cap. 7.*) was much affected ⁹with catching of Quails, and many Gentlemen take a singular pleasure at morning and evening to go abroad with their Quail-pipes, and will take any pains to satisfy their delight in that kind. The ¹⁰*Italians* have gardens fitted to such use, with nets, bushes, glades, sparing no cost or industry, and are very much affected with the sport. *Tycho Brahe*, that great Astronomer, in the Chorography of his Isle of *Huena*, & Castle of *Uraniburge*, puts down his nets, and manner of catching small birds, as an ornament, and a recreation, wherein he himself was sometimes employed.

Fishing is a kind of hunting by water, be^d it with n^ets, weels,¹¹ baits, angling or otherwise, and yields all out as much pleasure to some

¹ Jos. Scaliger. commen. in Cir. in fol. 344. Salmuth, 23 de Nov. rept. com. in Pancir. ² Demetrius Constantinop. de re accipitraria liber, a P. Gillar latine redditus. Ælius. Epist. Aquilæ, Symmachi, et Theodotionis ad Ptolomæum, &c. ³ Lonicerus, Geffreus, Jovius. ⁴ Sr. Antony Shirley's Relations. [⁵ = Starlings.] ⁶ Hakluyt. [⁷ = Kestrels, magpies.] [⁸ What we now call snipe.] ⁹ Coturnicum aucupio. ¹⁰ Fynes Moryson, part 3. c. 8. [¹¹ Traps for fish.]

men as dogs or hawks ; ¹ *when they draw their fish upon the bank*, saith *Nic. Henselius, Silesiographia, cap. 3*, speaking of that extraordinary delight his Countrymen took in fishing, and in making of pools. *James Dubravius*, that *Moravian*, in his book *de Pisc.* telleth how, travelling by the highway side in *Silesia*, he found a Nobleman ² *booted up to the groins*, wading himself, pulling the nets, and labouring as much as any fisherman of them all : and when some belike objected to him the baseness of his office, he excused himself, ³ *that if other men might hunt Hares, why should not he hunt Carps ?* Many Gentlemen in like sort with us will wade up to the Arm-holes upon such occasions, and voluntarily undertake that, to satisfy their pleasure, which a poor man for a good stipend would scarce be hired to undergo. *Plutarch*, in his book *De soller. animal.* speaks against all fishing, *‘as a filthy, base, illiberal employment, having neither wit nor perspicacity in it, nor worth the labour.* But he that shall consider the variety of Baits, for all seasons, & pretty devices which our Anglers have invented, peculiar lines, false flies, several sleights, &c. will say that it deserves like commendation, requires as much study and perspicacity as the rest, and is to be preferred before many of them. Because hawking and hunting are very laborious, much riding and many dangers accompany them ; but this is still and quiet : and ⁴ if so be the angler catch no Fish, yet he hath a wholesome walk to the Brook side, pleasant shade by the sweet silver streams ; he hath good air, and sweet smells of fine fresh meadow flowers, he hears the melodious harmony of Birds, he sees the Swans, Herons, Ducks, Water-hens, Coots, &c. and many other Fowl, with their brood, which he thinketh better than the noise of Hounds, or blast of Horns, and all the sport that they can make.

Many other sports and recreations there be, much in use, as ringing, bowling, shooting, which *Ascham* commends in a just

¹ Non majorem [Qu. minorem?] voluptatem animo capiunt quam qui feras insectantur, aut missis canibus, comprehendunt, quum, retia trahentes, squamosas pecudes in ripas adducunt. ² More piscatorum cruribus ocreatus. ³ Si principibus venatio leporis non sit inhonesta, nescio quomodo piscatio cyprinorum videri debeat pudenda. ⁴ Omnino turpis piscatio, nullo studio digna, illiberalis credita est, quod nullum habet ingenium, nullam perspicaciam. [§ ix.] [5 “ If so be” to the end of the paragraph is taken, without acknowledgment, from *The Treatyses perteynyng to Hawkyng, Huntynge, and Fisshynge with an angle*, printed at Westminster, by Wynkyn de Worde, 1496. See *Drake, Shakspeare and his Times*, (ed. 1817) vol. I. p. 290.]

volume,¹ and hath in former times been enjoined by statute as a defensive exercise, and an² honour to our Land, as well may witness our victories in *France*. Keelpins,³ trunks,⁴ quoits, pitching barrell, hurling, wrestling, leaping, running, fencing, mustering, swimming, wasters,⁵ foils, foot-ball, baloon,⁶ quintain, &c. and many such, which are the common recreations of the country folks; riding of great horses, running at rings, tilts and tournaments, horse-races, wild-goose chases,⁷ which are the disports of greater men, and good in themselves, though many Gentlemen, by that means, gallop quite out of their fortunes.

But the most pleasant of all outward pastimes is that of⁸ *Areteus*, *deambulatio per amœna loca*, to make a petty progress, a merry journey now and then with some good companions, to visit friends, see Cities, Castles, Towns,

⁹ Visere sæpè amnes nitidos, peramœnaque Tempe,
Et placidas summis sectari in montibus auras:

To see the pleasant fields, the crystal fountains,
And take the gentle air amongst the mountains:

¹⁰ to walk amongst Orchards, Gardens, Bowers, Mounts, and Arbours, artificial wildernesses, green thickets, Arches, Groves, Lawns, Rivulets, Fountains, and such like pleasant places, like that *Antiochian Daphne*,¹¹ Brooks, Pools, Fishponds, betwixt wood and water, in a fair meadow, by a river side, ¹²*ubi variae avium cantationes, florum colores, pratorum frutices, &c.* to disport in some pleasant plain, park, run up a steep hill sometimes, or sit in a shady seat, must needs be a delectable recreation. *Hortus principis et domus ad delectationem facta, cum sylvâ, monte et piscina, vulgè La Montagna*: the Prince's garden at *Ferrara* ¹³*Schottus* highly magnifies, with the groves, mountains, ponds, for a delectable prospect, he was much affected with it; a *Persian Paradise*, or pleasant park, could not be more delectable in his sight. *S. Bernard*, in the description of his Monastery, is almost ravished

[¹ Namely, in his *Toxophilus*, or Dialogue on Archery. The shooting in the text of course relates only to archery.] ² Præcipua hinc Anglis gloria, crebræ victoriæ partæ. Jovius. [³ Ninepins.] [⁴ See Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, v. *Troll-madam*.] [⁵ = Caddgels.] [⁶ See Nares' Glossary.]

[⁷ On this see Drake's *Shakspeare and his Times*, (ed. 1817.) vol. i. pp. 304. 305.] [⁸ Cap. 7. ⁹ Fracastorius. ¹⁰ Ambulationes subdiales, quas hortenses auræ ministrant, sub fornice viridi, pampinis virentibus concameratæ.] [¹¹ See Gibbon, D. and F. ch. 23.] [¹² Theophylact. ¹³ Itinerar. Ital.]

with the pleasures of it. *A sick*¹ *man* (saith he) *sits upon a green bank, and when the Dog-star parcheth the plains, and dries up rivers, he lies in a shady bower, Fronde sub arborea ferventia temperat astra, and feeds his eyes with variety of objects, herbs, trees, &c. to comfort his misery, he receives many delightful smells, and fills his ears with that sweet and various harmony of Birds. Good God!* (saith he) *what a company of pleasures hast thou made for man!* He that should be admitted on a sudden to the sight of such a Palace, as that of *Escorial* in *Spain*, or to that which the *Moors* build at *Granada*, *Fontainebleau* in *France*, the *Turk's* gardens in his *Seraglio*, wherein all manner of birds and beasts are kept for pleasure, Wolves, Bears, Lynxes, Tigers, Lions, Elephants, &c. or upon the banks of that *Thracian Bosphorus*: the Pope's *Belvedere* in *Rome*,² as pleasing as those *Horti pensiles*³ in *Babylon*, or that *Indian King's* delightful garden in *Ælian*; or⁴ those famous gardens of the Lord *Cantelow* in *France*, could not choose, though he were never so ill apaid, but be much recreated for the time; or many of our Noblemen's gardens at home. To take a boat in a pleasant evening, and with musick⁵ to row upon the waters, which *Plutarch* so much applauds, *Ælian* admires upon the river *Peneus*, in those *Thessalian* fields beset with green bays, where birds so sweetly sing that passengers,⁷ enchanted as it were with their heavenly musick, *omnium laborum et curarum obliviscantur*, forget forthwith all labours, care, and grief: or in a *Gondola* through the *Grand Canal* in *Venice*, to see those goodly Palaces, must needs refresh and give content to a melancholy dull spirit. Or to see the inner rooms of a fair-built and sumptuous edifice, as that of the *Persian Kings* so much renowned by *Diodorus* and *Curtius*, in which all was almost beaten gold,⁸ chairs, stools, thrones, tabernacles, and pillars, of gold, plane trees and vines of gold, grapes of precious stones, all the other ornaments of pure gold,

¹ Sedet regrotus cœspite viridi, et cum inclementia Canicularis terras excoquit, et siccat flumina, ipse securus sedet sub arborea fronde, et, ad doloris sui solatium, naribus suis granineas redolet species; pascit oculos herbarum amœna viriditas, aures suavi modulamine demulcet pictarum concentus avium, &c. Deus Bone! quanta pauperibus procuras solatia! [Epistle cdxvii.] ² Diod. Siculus, lib. 2. [cap. 10.] ³ Hanging gardens. ⁴ Lib. 13. de animal. cap. 13. ⁵ Pot. Gillius. Paul. Hentznerus, Itinerar. Italiæ. 1617. [Paul Hentzner's Travels in England were translated by Lord Orford in 1797.] ⁶ Iod. Sincerus. Itinerar. Galliæ, 1617. Simp. lib. 1. quæst. 4. ⁷ Jucundissima deambulatio juxta mare, et navigatio prope terram. In utraque fluminis ripa. ⁸ Wayfarers, used so as late as Wordsworth, Prelude, Book iv.] ⁸ Aurei panes, aurea obsonia, vis margaritarum aceto subacta, &c.

¹ Fulget gemma toris, et iaspide fulva supellex,
Strata micant Tyrio.

[Gems on the couches gleam, the yellow jasper
Sets off the furniture, the coverlets
Are Tyrian purple,]

with sweet odours and perfumes, generous vines, opiparous fare, &c. besides the gallantest young men, the fairest ²virgins, *puellæ stultæ ministrantes*, the rarest beauties the world could afford, and those set out with costly and curious attires, *ad stuporem usque spectantium*, with exquisite musick, as in ³*Trimalchio's* house, in every chamber, sweet voices ever sounding day and night, *incomparabilis luxus*, all delights and pleasures in each kind which to please the senses could possibly be devised or had, *convivæ coronati, deliciis ebrii, &c.* ⁴*Telemachus* in *Homer* is brought in as one ravished almost, at the sight of that magnificent Palace and rich furniture of *Menelaus*, when he beheld

⁵ Æris fulgorem et resonantia tecta corusco
Auro, atque electro nitido, sectoque elephanto,
Argentoque simul. Talis Jovis ardua sedes,
Aulaque Cœlicolûm stellans splendet Olympo.

Such glittering of gold and brightest brass to shine,
Clear amber, silver pure, and ivory so fine:
Jupiter's lofty Palace, where the Gods do dwell,
Was even such a one, and did it not excel.

It will *laxare animos*, refresh the soul of man, to see fair-built Cities, Streets, Theatres, Temples, Obelisks, &c. The Temple of *Jerusalem* was so fairly built of white marble, with so many Pyramids covered with gold; *tectumque templi, fulvo coruscans auro, nimio suo fulgore obcecabat oculos itinerantium*, was so glorious and so glistered afar off, that the spectators might not well abide the sight of it.⁶ But the inner parts were all so curiously set out with Cedar, Gold, Jewels, &c. as he said of *Cleopatra's* Palace in *Egypt*,

—— ⁷ crassumque trabes absconderat aurum,

that the beholders were amazed. What so pleasant as to see some Pageant or Sight go by, as at Coronations, Weddings, and such like Solemnities, to see an Ambassador or a Prince met, received, entertained, with Masks, Shews, Fireworks, &c. To see

¹ Lucan. [x. 122, 3.] ² 300 pellices, pocillatores, et gincernæ innumeri, pueri loti purpura induti, &c., ex omnium pulchritudine delecti. ³ Ubi omnia cantu strepunt. [⁴ Trimalchio and the luxury of his house fills about half Petronius' Satyricon.] ⁵ Odyss. 8. [72-75.] [⁶ See Josephus, Jewish War, Book v. Ch. v.]

⁷ Lucan. [x. 113.] The woodwork was all hid by solid gold.]

two Kings fight in single combat, as *Porus* and *Alexander*, *Canutus* and *Edmund Ironside*, *Scanderbeg* and *Ferat Bassa* the Turk, when not honour alone but life itself is at stake, as the¹ Poet of *Hector*,

— nec enim pro tergo re tauri,
Pro bove nec certamen erat, quæ præmia cursûs
Esse solent, sed pro magni vitæque animæque—
Hectoris;

[The contest was not for some ox or oxhide,
The usual prizes of a race, the stake
Was nothing less than mighty Hector's life.]

To behold a battle fought, like that of *Cressy*, or *Agincourt*, or *Poitiers*, quâ nescio, (saith *Froissart*), *an vetustas ullam proferre possit clariorem*. To see one of *Cæsar's* triumphs in old *Rome* revived, or the like. To be present at an Interview, as that famous [one] of *Henry VIII.* and *Francis I.* so much renowned all over *Europe*; *ubi tanto apparatu* (saith *Hubertus Vellius*) *tamque triumphali pompâ ambo reges cum eorum conjugibus coiere, ut nulla unquam ætas tam celebria festa viderit aut audierit*, no age ever saw the like. So infinitely pleasant are such Shews, to the sight of which often times they will come hundreds of miles, give any money for a place, and remember many years after with singular delight. *Bodine*, when he was Ambassador in *England*, said he saw the Noblemen go in their Robes to the Parliament-House, *summâ cum jucunditate vidimus*, he was much affected with the sight of it. *Pomponius Columna*, saith *Jovius* in his Life, saw 13 *Frenchmen* and so many *Italians* once fight for a whole Army: *quod jucundissimum spectaculum in vitâ dicit suâ*, the pleasantest sight that ever he saw in his life. Who would not have been affected with such a spectacle? Or that single combat of ³*Breute* the *Frenchman* and *Anthony Schets* a *Dutchman*, before the walls of *Sylvaducis*⁴ in *Brabant*, Anno 1600. They were 22 Horse on the one side, as many on the other,⁵ which like *Livy's Horatii*, *Torquati*, and *Corvini*, fought for their own glory and Country's honour, in the sight and view of their whole City and Army.
⁶ When *Julius*⁷ *Cæsar* warred about the bankes of *Rhone*, there came a *Barbarian Prince* to see him and the *Roman Army*, and

¹ *Iliad*, [xxii. 159-161.] • ² Between *Ardres* and *Guines*, 1519. ³ *Senertius* in deliciis, fol. 487. Veteri Horatiorum exemplo, virtute et successu admirabili, cæsis hostibus 17 in conspectu patriæ, &c. [⁴ Bois Le Duc.] [⁵ On this combat see Motley, United Netherlands, ch. 37.] [⁶ *Paterculus*, vol. post. c. 107.] [⁷ In *Paterculus* it is *Tiberius Cæsar*, not *Julius*.]

when he had beheld *Cæsar* a good while, ¹*I see the Gods now* (saith he) *which before I heard of, nec feliciorem ullam vitæ meæ aut optavi aut sensi diem*: it was the happiest day that ever he had in his life. Such a sight alone were able of itself to drive away melancholy, if not for ever, yet it must needs expel it for a time.

²*Edzivilius* was much taken with the *Bassa's* Palace in *Cairo*, and, amongst many other objects which that place afforded, with that solemnity of cutting the banks of *Nilus*, by *Imbram Bassa*, when it overflowed; besides two or three hundred gilded Gallies on the water, he saw two millions of men gathered together on the land with *Turbans* as white as snow, and 'twas a goodly sight. The very reading of feasts, triumphs, interviews, nuptials, tilts, tournaments, combats, and monomachies, is most acceptable and pleasant. ³*Franciscus Modius* hath made a large collection of such solemnities in two great Tomes, which whoso will may peruse. The inspection alone of those curious Iconographites of Temples and Palaces, as that of the *Lateran* Church in *Albert Durer*, that of the Temple of *Jerusalem* in ⁴*Josephus*, *Adricomius*, and *Villalpandus*: that of the *Escorial* in *Guadas*, of *Diana* at *Ephesus* in *Pliny*, ⁵*Nero's* golden Palace in *Rome*, ⁶*Justinian's* in *Constantinople*, that *Peruvian Incas* in ⁷*Cuzco*, *ut non, ab hominibus, sed à dæmoniis constructum videatur*; *S. Mark's* in *Venice* by *Ignatius*, with many such: *priscorum artificum opera* (saith that ⁸interpreter of *Pausanias*) the rare workmanship of those ancient *Greeks*, in Theatres, Obelisks, Temples, Statues, gold, silver, ivory, marble images, *non minore fermè quum leguntur, quam quum cernuntur, animum delectatione complent*, affect one as much by reading almost as by sight.

The Country hath his recreations, the City his several Gymnicks and Exercises, May-games, Feasts, Wakes, and Merry Meetings, to solace themselves; the very being in the Country; that life itself is a sufficient recreation to some men, to enjoy such pleasures as those old Patriarchs did. *Diocletian*, the Emperor, was so much affected with it, that he gave over his Sceptre, and turned gardener. *Constantine* wrote 20 books of Husbandry. *Lysander*, when Embassadors came to see him, bragged of nothing more than of his Orchard, *hi sunt ordines mei*.⁹ What shall I say of *Cinnatus*,

¹ Quos antea audiivi, inquit, hodie vidi Deos. [Ibid.]. ² Pandectæ Triumph. fol. 8. Lib. 6. cap. 4. de bello Jud. [See also lib. 5. cap. 5.] [⁴ N. H. 36. 14.] [⁵ Pliny, N. H. 36. 15.] [⁶ Procopius. [De Edificiis, Lib. i. cap. 1.]] [⁷ Laet. lib. 10. Amer. descript.] [⁸ Romulus Amasæus, præfat. Pausan.] [⁹ Cic. De Senectute, c. xvii. § 59.]

Cato, Tully, and many such? how have they been pleased with it, to prune, plant, inoculate, and graft, to shew so many several kinds of Pears, Apples, Plums, Peaches, &c.

¹ Nunc captare feras laqueis, nunc fallere visco,
Atque etiam magnos canibus circumdare saltus,
Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres.

Sometimes with traps deceive, with line and string
To catch wild birds and beasts, encompassing
The grove with dogs, and out of bushes firing.

— et nidos avium scrutari, &c.²

Jacundus, in his preface to *Cato, Varro, Columella, &c.*, put out by him, confesseth of himself, that he was mightily delighted with these Husbandry studies, and took extraordinary pleasure in them. If the theorick or speculation can so much affect, what shall the place and exercise itself, the practick part, do? The same confession I find in *Herbastein, Porta, Camerarius*, and many others, which have written of that subject. If my testimony were ought worth, I could say as much of myself; I am *verè Saturnius*; ³ no man ever took more delight in Springs, Woods, Groves, Gardens Walks, Fishponds, Rivers, &c. But

⁴ Tantalus à labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina,

And so do I, *velle licet, potiri non licet*.⁵

Every Palace, every City almost, hath his peculiar Walks, Cloisters, Terraces, Groves, Theatres, Pageants, Games, and several Recreations; every Country some professed Gymnicks, to exhilarate their minds, & exercise their bodies. The ⁶*Greeks* had their *Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean*, Games, in honour of *Neptune, Jupiter, Apollo; Athens* her's: some for Honour, Garlands, Crowns; [some] for ⁷beauty, dancing, running, leaping, like our silver games.⁸ The ⁹*Romans* had their Feasts, as the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* held their publick Banquets, in *Prytanæo, Panathenæis, Thesmophoriis, Phuditiis*, Plays, Naumachies, places for

¹ Virg. Georg. i. [139, 140, 271.]

[² This line is from Baptista Mantuanus,

Ecl. x.] [³ A true lover of the country. For Saturn was the God of Agriculture.]

[⁴ Hor. Sat. i. i. 68. Thirsty Tantalus gapes for the water that flees from his lips.]

[⁵ Apuleius, in Petron. Catal. I may wish, I may not have.] [⁶ Boterus, lib. 3.

polit. cap. 1. ⁷ See Athenæus, Deipnoso. [Book xiii. p. 565 F.] [⁸ Does Shake-

speare's Tempest, A. ii. Sc. ii. explain this passage? "Were I in England now, as

once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give

a piece of silver."] [⁹ Ludi votivi, sacri, ludicri, Megalenses, Cereales, Florales,

Martiales, &c. Rosinus, §. 12.

Sea-fights, ¹Theatres, Amphitheatres able to contain 70,000 men, wherein they had several delightful Shews to exhilarate the people: ²Gladiators, combats of men with themselves, with wild beasts, and wild beasts one with another, like our Bull-baitings, or Bear-baitings (in which many countrymen and Citizens amongst us so much delight and so frequently use) Dancers on Ropes, Jugglers, Wrestlers, Comedies, Tragedies, publicly exhibited at the Emperor's and Cities' charge, and that with incredible cost & magnificence. In the *Low Countries* (as ³*Meteran* relates) before these wars, they had many solemn Feasts, Plays, Challenges, Artillery Gardens, Colleges of Rhymers, Rhetoricians, Poets: and to this day such places are curiously maintained in *Amsterdam*, as appears by that description of *Isaacus Pontanus*, *Rerum Amstelrod. lib. 2. cap. 25.* So likewise not long since at *Freiburg* in *Germany*, as is evident by that relation of ⁴*Neander*, they had *Ludos Septennales*, solemn Plays every seven years, which *Boærus*, one of their own Poets, hath elegantly described:

At nunc magnifico spectacula structa paratu
Quid memorem, veteri non concessura Quirino,
Ludorum pompa?" ⁵ &c.

In *Italy* they have solemn Declamations of certain select young Gentlemen in *Florence*, (like those Reciters in old *Rome*), and publick Theatres in most of their Cities, for Stage-players and others, to exercise and recreate themselves. All seasons almost, all places, have their several pastimes, some in Summer, some in Winter, some abroad, some within, some of the body, some of the mind, and divers men have divers recreations and exercises. *Domitian* the Emperor was much delighted with catching flies, *Augustus* to play with nuts amongst children, ⁶*Alexander Severus* was often pleased to play with whelps and young pigs, ⁷*Adrian* was so wholly enamoured with dogs and horses, that he bestowed

¹ See Lipsius, *Amphitheatrum*. Rosinus, lib. 5. Meursius de^o ludis Græcorum.
² 1,500 men at once, tigers, lions, elephants, horses, dogs, bears, &c. ³ Lib. ult. et l. i. ad finem. Consuetudine non minus laudabili quam veteri, contubernia Rhetorum, Rythmorum in Urbibus et Municipiis; certisque diebus exercebant se sagittarii, gladiatores, &c. Alia ingenii animique exercitia, quorum præcipuum studium principem populum tragœdiis, comœdiis, fabulis scenicis, aliisque id genus ludis recreare. ⁴ Orbis terræ descript. part. 3. [⁵ What shall I say of their plays produced with the most magnificent get-up, rivalling even the Romans in their display?] ⁶ I ampridius, [*Vita ejus*, cap. 41.], ⁷ Spartian. [*Adriano*, cap. 20.]

monuments and tombs on them, and buried them in graves. In foul weather, or when they can use no other convenient sports, by reason of the time, as we do Cock-fighting to avoid idleness, I think, (though some be more seriously taken with it, spend much time, cost and charges, and are too solicitous about it), *Severus* used Partridges and Quails, as many *Frenchmen* do still, and so keep Birds in Cages, with which he was much pleased, when at any time he had leisure from publick cares and businesses. He had (saith *Lampridius*)² tame Pheasants, Ducks, Partridges, Peacocks, and some 20,000 Ringdoves and Pigeons. *Busbequius*, the Emperor's Orator, when he lay in *Constantinople*, & could not stir much abroad, kept for his recreation, busying himself to see them fed, almost all manner of strange birds and beasts; this was something, though not to exercise his body, yet to refresh his mind. *Conrad Gesner*, at *Zurich* in *Switzerland*, kept so likewise, for his pleasure, a great company of wild beasts, and (as he saith) took great delight to see them eat their meat. *Turkey* Gentlewomen, that are perpetual prisoners, still mewed up according to the custom of the place, have little else besides their household business, or to play with their children, to drive away time, but to dally with their cats, which they have *in deliciis*,³ as many of our Ladies and Gentlewomen use Monkeys and little Dogs. The ordinary recreations which we have in Winter, and in most solitary times busy our minds with, are *Cards*, *Tables* and *Dice*, *Shovel-board*, *Chess-play*, the Philosopher's game,⁴ small trunks,⁵ shuttlecock, billiards, musick, masks, singing, dancing, *Vulegames*, frolicks, jests, riddles, catches, purposes, questions and commands,⁶ merry tales of Errant Knights, Queens, Lovers, Lords, Ladies, Giants, Dwarfs, Thieves, Cheaters, Witches, Fairies, Goblins, Friars, &c., such as the old woman told [of]⁷ *Psyche* in *Apuleius*, *Boccaccio* Novels, and the rest, *quarum auditione pueri delectantur, senes narratione*, which some delight to hear, some to tell, all are well pleased with. *Amaranthus*, the Philosopher, met *Hermocles*,

² Delectatus luis catulorum, porcellorum, ut perdoes inter se pugnarent, aut ut aves parvule sursum et deorsum volitarent, his maxime delectatus, ut sollicitudines publicas sublevaret. [*Lampridius*, *Vita Severi*, cap. 41.] [³ Ibidem.] [³ As pets.]

⁴ The Philosopher's game, well so called, was a kind of chess. See a description of it in *Nares' Glossary*, and see also *Drake's Shakespeare and his Times*, (ed. 1817). vol. ii. p. 171.] [⁵ See p. 86.] [⁶ *Brumales læte ut possint producere noctes.*]

⁷ We are obliged to supply this word, as the old woman did not tell *Psyche* any tale, but told the world-known tale of *Psyche*.] [⁸ Miles. 4. [32 sq.]]

Diophantus, and *Philolaus*, his companions, one day busily discoursing about *Epicurus*' and *Democritus*' tenents, very solicitous which was most probable and came nearest to truth. To put them out of that surly controversy, and to refresh their spirits, he told them a pleasant tale of *Stratocles* the Physician's wedding, and of all the particulars, the company, the cheer, the musick, &c., for he was new come from it, with which relation they were so much delighted, that *Philolaus* wished a blessing to his heart, and many a good wedding,¹ many such merry meetings might he be at, to please himself with the sight, and others with the narration of it. News are generally welcome to all our ears, *avidè audimus, aures enim hominum novitate letantur* (as ²*Pliny* observes) we long after rumour to hear and listen to it, *densum humeris bibit aure vulgus*.³ We are most part too inquisitive and apt to hearken after news, which *Cæsar* in his ⁴Commentaries observes of the old *Gauls*, they would be enquiring of every Carrier and Passenger⁵ what they had heard or seen, what news abroad?

—— quid toto fiat in orbe,
Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant; secreta novercæ
Et pueri; quis amet, &c.⁶

[What the whole world is doing, what the Thracians,
What the Chinese; the stepmother's intrigue
With her young stepson, and the latest scandal;]

as at an ordinary with us, bakehouse, or barber's shop. When that great *Gonsalvo*⁷ was upon some displeasure confined by king *Ferdinand* to the City of *Loja* in *Andalusia*, the only comfort (saith ⁸*Jovius*) he had to ease his melancholy thoughts was to hear news, and to listen after those ordinary occurrents, which were brought him *cum primis*, by letters or otherwise, out of the remotest parts of *Europe*. Some men's whole delight is to take Tobacco, and drink all day long in a Tavern or Ale-house, to discourse, sing, jest, roar, talk of a Cock and Bull over a pot, &c. Or when three or four good companions meet, tell old stories by the fireside, or in the Sun, as old folks usually do, *quæ aprici meminere senes*,⁹ remembering afresh and with pleasure ancient matters, and such

¹ O Dii! similibus sæpe conviviis date ut ipse videndo delectetur, et postmodum narrando delectet. Theod. Prodromus, Amaranto dial. interpret. Gilberto Gaulinio. ² Epist. 18. Rufino. [³ Hor. Odes, ii. xiii. 32.] ⁴ Lib. 4. [cap. 5.] Gallicæ consuetudinis est ut viatores etiam Invitos consistere cogant, et quid quisque eorum audierit aut cognovit de quâ re quærent. [⁵ See p. 87, note 7.] [⁶ Juv. vi. 402-404.] [⁷ Gonsalvo di Cordova, 1453-1515, a famous General of Ferdinand and Isabella.] ⁸ Vitæ ejus lib. ult. [⁹ Pers. v. 179.]

like accidents, which happened in their younger years. Others' best pastime is to game, nothing to them so pleasant.

Hic Veneri indulget, hunc decoquit alea¹——

Many too nicely take exceptions at Cards,² Tables, and Dice, and such mixt lusrrious lots, whom *Gataker* well confutes; which though they be honest recreations in themselves, yet may justly otherwise excepted at, as they are often abused, and forbidden as things most pernicious, *insanam rem et damnosam*,³ *Lemnius* calls it. *For most part in these kind of disports, 'tis not art or skill, but subtilty, cunny-catching,⁴ knavery, chance and fortune carries all away, 'tis ambulatoria pecunia,*⁵

—— puncto mobilis horæ
Permutat dominos, et cedit in altera jura.⁷

[In a short fleeting hour it changes masters.]

They labour most part not to pass their time in honest disport, but for filthy lucre, and covetousness of money. *In fœdissimum lucrum et avaritiam hominum convertitur*, as *Daneus* observes. *Fons fraudum et maleficiorum*, 'tis the fountain of cosenage and villainy; ⁸ *a thing so common all over Europe at this day, & so generally abused, that many men are utterly undone by it*, their means spent, patrimonies consumed, they and their posterity beggared; besides swearing, wrangling, drinking, loss of time, and such inconveniences, which are ordinary concomitants: ⁹ *for when once they have got a haunt of such companies, and habit of gaming, they can hardly be drawn from it, but as an itch will tickle them, and as it is with whoremasters, once entered, they cannot easily leave it off; vexat mentes insana cupido*, they are mad upon their sport. And in conclusion (which *Charles* the Seventh, that good *French* King, published in an Edict against gamesters) *unde piæ et hilaris vitæ suffugium sibi suisque liberis, totique familiæ, &c.* that which was once their livelihood, should have maintained wife, children,

[¹ Pers. v. 57, 58, *memoriter*.]

² They account them unlawful because sortilegious.

[³ An insane and injurious thing.] ⁴ Instit. c. 44. In his ludis plerumque non ars aut peritia viget, sed fraus, fallacia, dolus, astutia, casus, fortuna, temeritas, locum habent, non ratio, consilium, sapientia, &c. [⁵ = Cony-catching. See Nares.] [⁶ Money that has wings.] [⁷ Hor. Epp. ii. 2. 172, 174, quoted *memoriter*.]

⁸ Abusus tam frequens hodie in Europa ut plerique crebro harum usu patrimonium profundant, exhaustisque facultatibus ad inopiam redigantur.

⁹ Ubi semel prurigo ista animum occupat, ægre discuti potest, sollicitantibus undique ejusdem farinae hominibus, damnosas illas voluptates repetunt; quod et scortatoribus insitum, &c.

family, is now spent and gone; *mæror* & *egestas*, &c., sorrow and beggary succeeds. So good things may be abused, and that which was first invented to ¹ refresh men's weary spirits, when they come from other labours and studies, to exhilarate the mind, to entertain time and company, tedious otherwise in those long solitary Winter nights, and keep them from worse matters, an honest exercise, is contrarily perverted.

Chess-play is a good and witty exercise of the mind for some kind of men, and fit for such melancholy [ones], *Rhasis* holds, as are idle, and have extravagant impertinent thoughts, or [are] troubled with cares, nothing better to distract their mind, and alter their meditations, invented (some say) by the ² general of an army in a famine, to keep soldiers from mutiny: but if it proceed from over-much study, in such a case it may do more harm than good; it is a game too troublesome for some men's brains, too full of anxiety, all out as bad as study; besides, it is a testy cholerick game, and very offensive to him that loseth the Mate. ⁴ *William* the Conqueror in his younger years, playing at chess with the Prince of France, (*Dauphiné* was not annexed to that Crown in those days), losing a mate, knocked the Chess-board about his pate, which was a cause afterwards of much enmity betwixt them. For some such reason it is, belike, that *Patricius*, in his 3rd Book, *Tit. 12, de reg. instit.* forbids his Prince to play at Chess: hawking and hunting, riding, &c. he will allow; and this to other men, but by no means to him. In *Muscovy*, where they live in stoves and hot-houses all Winter long, come seldom or little abroad, it is again very necessary, and therefore in those parts (saith ⁴ *Herbastein*) much used. At *Fez* in *Africa*, where the like inconvenience of keeping within doors is through heat, it is very laudable, and (as ⁵ *Leo Afer* relates) as much frequented. A sport fit for idle Gentlewomen, Soldiers in Garrison, and Courtiers that have nought but Love matters to busy themselves themselves about, but not altogether so convenient for such as are Students. The like I may say of *Cl. Bruxer's* Philosophy Game, *D. Fulke's Metromachia* and his

¹ Instituitur ista exercitatio, non lucri sed valetudinis et oblectamenti ratione, et quo animus defatigatus respiret, novasque vires ad subeundos labores denuo concipiat. ² Latrunculatorum ludus inventus est à dūce, ut, cum miles intolerabili fame laboraret, altero die edens, altero ludens, famis oblivisceretur. Bellonius. See more of this game in Daniel Souter's *Palamedes*, vel de variis ludis, l. 3. ³ D. Hayward, in vita ejus. ⁴ Muscovit. commentarium. ⁵ Inter cives Fessanos latrunculatorum ludus est usitatissimus. lib. 3. de Africa.

Ouranomachia, with the rest of those intricate Astrological and Geometrical fictions, for such especially as are Mathematically given; and the rest of those curious games.

Dancing, Singing, Masking, Mumming, Stage-plays, however they be heavily censured by some severe *Catos*, yet, if opportunely and soberly used, may justly be approved. *Melius est fodere quam saltare*,¹ saith *Austin*: but what is that if they delight in it? ² *Nemo [fere] saltat sobrius*. But in what kind of dance? I know these sports have many oppugners, whole volumes writ against them, when as all they say (if duly considered) is but *Ignoratio Elenchi*; and some again, because they are now cold and wayward, past themselves, cavil at all such youthful sports in others, as he did in the Comedy; they think them *illæ nasci senes*, &c.³ Some out of preposterous zeal object many times trivial arguments, and because of some abuse will quite take away the good use, as if they should forbid wine, because it makes men drunk; but in my judgement they are too stern: *there is a time for all things, a time to mourn, a time to dance*, Eccl. 3. 4, *a time to embrace, a time not to embrace* (vers. 5), *and nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own works* (vers. 22). For my part, I will subscribe to the *King's Declaration*,⁴ and was ever of that mind, those May-games, Wakes, and Whitsun-Ales, &c., if they be not at unseasonable hours, may justly be permitted. Let them freely feast, sing and dance, have their Puppet-plays, Hobby-horses, Tabers, Crowds, Bag-pipes, &c., play at Ball, and Barley-breaks, and what sports and recreations they like best. In *Franconia*, a province of *Germany* (saith ⁵ *Aubanus Bohemus*) the old folks, after Evening Prayer, went to the Ale-house, the younger sort to dance: and to say truth with ⁶ *Sarisburiensis*, *satius fuerat sic otium quam turpius occupari*, better do so than worse, as without question otherwise (such is the corruption of man's Nature) many of them will do. For that cause Plays, Masks, Jesters, Gladiators, Tumblers, Jugglers, &c. and all that crew is admitted & winked at: ⁷ *tota*

[¹ It is better to dig than to dance.] ² Tullius. [Mur. 6. 13. Hardly any sober person dances. The *fere*, which Burton characteristically omits, takes a good deal of the sting out of the remark.] [³ Terence, *Heauton*. ii. i. 2. They think they should have old heads on young shoulders.] [⁴ The allusion is to King James I., his *Book of Sports, or Lawful Recreations upon Sunday after Evening Prayers, and upon Holy-Days*, issued 1618. See Drake's *Shakspeare and his Times*, (ed. 1817) vol. i. pp. 173, 174.] ⁵ De mor. gent. ⁶ Polycrat. l. i. cap. 8. ⁷ Idem *Sarisburiensis*.

jocularium scena procedit, et ideo spectacula admissa sunt, et infinita tirocinia vanitatum, ut his occupentur, qui perniciosius otiosi solent: that they might be busied about such toys, that would otherwise more perniciously be idle. So that, as 'Tacitus said' of the Axiologers in Rome, we may say of them, *genus hominum est quod in civitate nostra et vitabitur semper et retinebitur*, they are a debauched company most part, still spoken against, as well they deserve some of them (for I so relish and distinguish them as Fiddlers, and Musicians) and yet ever retained. *Evil is not to be done* (I confess) *that good may come of it*: but this is evil *per accidens*, and in a qualified sense, to avoid a greater inconveniencē, may justly be tolerated. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopian Commonwealth*,² as he will 'have none idle, so will he have no man labour over-hard, to be toiled out like a horse, 'tis more than slavish infelicity the life of most of our hired servants and tradesmen elsewhere (excepting his Utopians): but half the day allotted to work, and half for honest recreation, or whatsoever employment they shall think fit themselves. If one half-day in the week were allowed to our household servants for their Merry Meetings by their hard masters, or in a year some Feasts, like those *Roman Saturnalia*, I think they would labour harder all the rest of their time, and both parties be better pleased: but this needs not (you will say), for some of them do nought but loiter all the week long.

This which I aim at is for such as are *fracti animis*, troubled in mind, to ease them, over-toiled on the one part, to refresh: over idle on the other, to keep themselves busied. And to this purpose, as any labour or employment will serve to the one, any honest recreation will conduce to the other, so that it be moderate and sparing, as the use of meat and drink; not to spend all their life in Gaming, Playing, and Pastimes, as too many Gentlemen do, but to revive our bodies and recreate our souls with honest sports: of which, as there be divers sorts, and peculiar to several callings, ages, sexes, conditions, so there be proper for several seasons, and those of distinct natures, to fit that variety of humours which is amongst them, that if one will not, another may: some in Summer, some in Winter, some gentle, some more violent, some for the

¹ Hist. lib. i. [cap. 22.] ² Nemo desidet otiosus, ita nemo asinino more ad seram noctem laborat; nam ea plusquam servilis ærumna, quæ opificum vita est, exceptis Utopiensibus, qui diem in 24 horas dividunt, sex duntaxat operi deputant, reliquum somno et cibo cujusque arbitrio permittitur. [Utopia, Book ii.]

mind alone, some for the body and mind : (as to some it is both business and a pleasant recreation to oversee workmen of all sorts, Husbandry, Cattle, Horses, &c. to build, plot, project, to make models, cast up accounts, &c.) some without, some within doors : new, old, &c. as the season serveth, and as men are inclined. It is reported of *Philippus Bonus*, that Good Duke of *Burgundy*, (by *Lodovicus Vives* in *Epist.* and *Pont.*¹ *Heuter* in his history) that the said Duke, at the marriage of *Eleonora*, sister to the King of *Portugal*, at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, which was solemnized in the deep of Winter, when as by reason of unseasonable weather he could neither hawk nor hunt, and was now tired with cards, dice, &c. and such other domestical sports, or to see Ladies dance, with some of his Courtiers he would in the evening walk disguised all about the Town. It so fortuned, as he was walking late one night, he found a country-fellow dead drunk, snorting on a bulk ;² ³ he caused his followers to bring him to his Palace, and there stripped him of his old clothes, and attiring him after the Court fashion, when he waked, he and they were ready to attend upon his Excellency, persuading him he was some great Duke. The poor fellow, admiring how he came there, was served in state all the day long ; after supper he saw them dance, heard Musick, and the rest of those Court-like pleasures : but late at night, when he was well tippled, & again fast asleep, they put on his old robes, and so conveyed him to the place where they first found him. Now the fellow had not made them so good sport the day before, as he did when he returned to himself, all the jest was to see how he looked upon it. In conclusion, after some little admiration, the poor man told his friends he had seen a Vision, constantly believed it, would not otherwise be persuaded, and so the jest ended.⁴ ⁵ *Antiochus Epiphanes* would often disguise himself, steal from his Court, and go into Merchants', Goldsmiths', and other Tradesmen's shops, sit and talk with them, and sometimes ride, or walk alone, and fall aboard with any Tinker, Clown, Serving-man, Carrier, or whomsoever he met first. Sometimes he did *ex insperato*⁷ give a

¹ *Rerum Burgund. lib. 4.* [² Bulk here is probably a bench. See Halliwell's *Archaic Dictionary*.]

³ *Jussit hominem deferri ad Palatium et lecto Ducali collocari, &c. mirari homo ubi se eo loci videt.* ⁴ *Quid interest, inquit Lodovicus Vives, (epist. ad Francisc. Barducem), inter diem illius et nostros aliquot annos? Nihil penitus, nisi quod, &c.* [⁵ Our Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* was perhaps founded on this tale. See T. Warton's Note, Preface to that Play.]

⁶ *Hien. Stephan. Præfat. Herodoti.* [⁷ Unexpectedly.]

poor fellow money, to see how he would look, or on set purpose lose his purse as he went, to watch who found it, and withal how he would be affected, and with such objects he was much delighted. Many such tricks are ordinarily put in practice by great men, to exhilarate themselves and others, all which are harmless jests, and have their good uses.

But amongst those exercises, or recreations of the mind within doors, there is none so general, so aptly to be applied to all sorts of men, so fit and proper to expell Idleness and Melancholy, as that of *Study*. *Studia senectutem oblectant, adolescentiam alunt, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium et solatium præbent, domi delectant, &c.* find the rest in *Tully, pro Archia Poeta*, [7. 16.].¹ What so full of content, as to read, walk, and see Maps, Pictures, Statues, Jewels, Marbles, which some so much magnify, as those that *Phidias* made of old, so exquisite and pleasing to be beheld, that, as ²*Chrysostom* thinketh, if any man be sickly, troubled in mind, or that cannot sleep for grief, and shall but stand over against one of *Phidias*' Images, he will forget all care, or whatsoever else may molest him, in an instant? There be those so much taken with *Michael Angelo's*, *Raphael de Urbino's*,³ *Francesco Francia's* Pieces, and many of those *Italian* and *Dutch* Painters, which were excellent in their ages; and esteem of it as a most pleasing sight to view those neat Architectures, Devices, Scutcheons, Coats of Arms, read such Books, to peruse old Coins of several sorts in a fair Gallery, Artificial Works, Perspective Glasses, Old Reliques, *Roman* Antiquities, variety of colours. A good Picture is *falsa veritas et muta poesis*.⁴ and though (as ⁵*Vives* saith) *artificialia delectant, sed mox fastidimus*, artificial toys please but for a time, yet who is he that will not be moved with them for the present? When *Achilles* was tormented and sad for the loss of his dear friend *Patroclus*, his mother *Thetis* brought him a most elaborate and curious Buckler made by *Vulcan*, in which were engraven Sun, Moon, Stars, Planets, Sea, Land, men fighting, running, riding, women scolding, hills, dales, towns, castles, brooks, rivers, trees, &c. with many

[¹ Study delights old age, educates youth, adorns prosperity, is the solace and refuge of adversity, charms us at home, &c.] ² *Ogat. 12. Siquis animo fuerit afflictus aut æger, nec somnum admittens, is mihi videtur è regione stans talis imaginis, oblivisci omnium posse, quæ humanæ vitæ atrocita et difficilia accidere solent.* [³ The famous *Raphael Sanzio* was a native of *Urbino*.] [⁴ An imitation of reality and silent poetry.] ⁵ *De anima.*

pretty landskips,¹ and perspective pieces, with sight of which he was infinitely delighted, and much eased of his grief.

² Continuo eo spectaculo captus, delenito mœrore,
Oblectabatur, in manibus tenens Dei splendida dona.

Who will not be affected so in like case, or to see those well-furnished Cloisters and Galleries of the *Roman* Cardinals, so richly stored with all modern Pictures, old Statues and Antiquities? *Cum se*—*spectando recreet simul atque legendo*, to see their Pictures alone, and read the description, as ³*Boissardus* well adds, whom will it not affect? which *Bozsius*, *Pomponius Lætus*, *Marlianus*, *Schottus*, *Cavelerius*, *Ligori*, &c. and he himself hath well performed of late. Or in some Princes' Cabinets, like that of the great Duke's in *Florence*, of *Felix Platerus* in *Basil*, or Noblemen's Houses, to see such variety of attires, faces, so many, so rare, and such exquisite pieces, of men, birds, beasts, &c. to see those excellent landskips,⁴ Dutch-works, and curious Cuts of *Sadler of Prague*, *Albert Durer*, *Goltzius*,⁴ *Urintes*, &c. such pleasant Pieces of Perspective, *Indian Pictures* made of feathers, *China* works, frames, *thaumaturgical* motions, exotick toys, &c. Who is he that is now wholly overcome with idleness, or otherwise involved in a labyrinth of worldly cares, troubles, and discontents, that will not be much lightened in his mind by reading of some enticing story, true or feigned, where (as in a glass) he shall observe what our fore-fathers have done, the beginnings, ruins, falls, periods of Common-wealths, private men's actions displayed to the life, &c.† ⁶*Plutarch* therefore calls them *secundas mensas et bellaria*, the second course and junkets, because they were usually read at Noblemen's Feasts. Who is not earnestly affected with a passionate speech, well penned, an elegant Poem, or some pleasant bewitching discourse, like that of ⁶*Heliodorus*, *ubi oblectatio quædam placide fluit, cum hilaritate conjuncta?* *Julian* the Apostate was so taken with an Oration of *Libanius* the Sophister, that, as he confesseth, he could not be quiet till he had read it all out. *Legi orationem tuam magnam ex parte hesternâ die ante prandium, pransus vero sine ullâ intermissione totam absolvi. O argumenta! O compositionem!*⁷ I may say the same of this or that pleasing Tract, which will draw his atten-

[¹ =Landscapes.] ² *Iliad*. 19. [16-18.] ³ *Topogr. Rom. part. 1.* [⁴ A famous Dutch Painter, 1558-1617.] ⁵ *Quod heroum conviviis legi solitè.* ⁶ *Melancthon de Heliodoro.* [⁷ I read a considerable part of your speech before dinner, but after I had dined I finished it completely. Oh what arguments! what style!

tion along with it. To most kind of men it is an extraordinary delight to study. For what a world of Books offers itself, in all subject, arts, and sciences, to the sweet content and capacity of the Reader! In *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Perspective*, *Opticks*, *Astronomy*, *Architecture*, *Sculpturâ*, *Picturâ*, of which so many and such elaborate Treatises are of late written: in *Mechanicks* & their mysteries, *Military Matters*, Navigation, ¹Riding of Horses, ²Fencing, Swimming, Gardening, Planting, great Tomes of Husbandry, Cookery, Falconry, Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, &c. with exquisite Pictures of all sports, games, & what not? In *Musick*, *Metaphysicks*, *Natural and Moral Philosophy*, *Philology*, in *Policy*, *Heraldry*, *Genealogy*, *Chronology*, &c. they afford great Tomes, or those Studies of ³*Antiquity*, &c. et ⁴*quid subtilius Arithmetice inventionibus? quid jucundius Musicis rationibus? quid divinius Astronomicis? quid rectius Geometricis demonstrationibus?* What so sure, what so pleasant? He that shall but see that Geometrical Tower of *Garisenda* at *Bologna* in *Italy*,⁵ the Steeple and Clock at *Strasburg*, will admire the effects of art, or that Engine of *Archimedes* to remove the earth itself, if he had but a place to fasten his instrument, *Archimedes' Cochlea*,⁶ and rare devices to corrivate waters, musick instruments, & trisyllable *Echoes* again, again, & again repeated, with myriads of such. What vast Tomes are extant in *Law*, *Physick*, & *Divinity*, for profit, pleasure, practice, speculation, in verse or prose, &c. ! Their names alone are the subject of whole Volumes, we have thousands of Authors of all sorts, many great Libraries full well furnished, like so many dishes of meat, served out for several palates; & he is a very block that is affected with none of them. Some take an infinite delight to study the very Languages wherein these Books are written, Hebrew, Greek, Syriack, Chaldee, Arabick, &c. Methinks it would well please any man to look upon a Geographical Map, ⁷*suavi animum delectatione allicere, ob incredibilem rerum varietatem et*

¹ Pluvines. ² Thibault. ³ As in travelling, the rest go forward and look before them, an Antiquary alone looks round about him, seeing things past, &c., hath a complete horizon. Janus Bifrons. ⁴ Cardan. ["What is more subtle than arithmetical conclusions? what more agreeable, than musical harmonies? what more divine than astronomical? what more certain than geometrical demonstrations?"] ⁵ Montaigne saw this in his journey into Italy. ⁶ Archimedes' water-screw. See Vitruv. v. 12; x. 8. See Plutarch, *Life of Marcellus*, § 14. ⁷ Hondius, Præfat. Mercatoris. [On account of the incredible variety and pleasantness of the subject, and would excite to further steps in knowledge.]

jucunditatem, et ad pleniorē sui cognitionem excitare, Chorographical, Topographical Delineations, to behold, as it were, all the remote Provinces, Towns, Cities of the World, and never to go forth of the limits of his study, to measure by the scale and compass their extent, distance, examine their site. Charles the Great, as *Paulina* writes, had three fair silver tables, in one of which superficies was a large Map of *Constantinople*, in the second *Rome* neatly engraved, in the third an exquisite Description of the whole World, and much delight he took in them. What greater pleasure can there now be than to view those elaborate Maps of *Ortelius*, ¹*Mercator*, *Hondius*, &c. To peruse those books of Cities, put out by *Braunus* and *Hogenbergius*? To read those exquisite descriptions of *Maginus*, *Munster*, *Herrera*, *Lact.*, *Merula*, *Baterus*, *Leander*, *Albertus*, *Camden*, *Leo Afer*, *Adricomius*, *Nic. Gerbelius*, &c.? Those famous expeditions of *Christo. Columbus*, *Amerigo Vespucci*, *Marcus Polus*, the *Venetian*, *Lod. Vertomannus*, *Aloysius Cadamustus*, &c.? those accurate diaries of *Portuguese*,² *Hollanders*, of *Bartison*, *Oliver à Nort*, &c. *Hakluyt's Voyages*, *Pet. Martyr's Decades*, *Benzo*, *Lerius*, *Linschoten's Relations*, those *Hodæporicons* of *Jod. a Meggen*, *Brocard* the Monk, *Bredembachius*, *Jo. Dublinius*, *Sands*, &c. to *Jerusalem*, *Egypt*, and other remote places of the world? those pleasant Itineraries of *Paulus Hentznerus*, *Jodocus Sincerus*, *Dux Polonus*, &c. to read *Bellonius's* Observations, *P. Gillius* his Surveys; those parts of *America* set out, and curiously cut in Pictures, by *Fratres a Bry*. To see a well cut Herbal, Herbs, Trees, Flowers, Plants, all Vegetals, expressed in their proper colours to the life, as that of *Matthiolus* upon *Dioscorides*, *Delacampius*, *Lobel*, *Bauhinus*, and that last voluminous and mighty Herbal of *Besler* of *Nuremburg*, wherein almost every Plant is to his own bigness. To see Birds, Beasts, and Fishes of the Sea, Spiders, Gnats, Serpents, Flies, &c. all Creatures set out by the same Art, & truly expressed in lively colours, with an exact description of their natures, virtues, qualities, &c. as hath been accurately performed by *Ælian*, *Gesner*, *Ulysses Aldrovandus*, *Bellonius*, *Rondoletius*, *Hippolytus Salvianus*, &c.³ *Arcana cæli, naturæ secreta, ordinem universi scire, majoris felicitatis et dulcedinis est, quam cogitatione quis assequi possit, aut mortalis sperare.* What more pleasing

¹ Atlas Geog. [² Old copies have Portugals.] ³ Cardan. [To know the secrets of the Heavens and of Nature, and the Order of the Universe, is a greater happiness and pleasure than any mortal can think or expect to obtain.]

Studies can there be than the Mathematicks, Theorick, or Practick parts? as to sur ey land, make Maps, Models, Dials, &c. with which I was ever much delighted myself. *Talis est mathematicum pulchritudo*, (saith ¹*Plutarch*), *ut his indignum sit divitiarum phaleras istas & bullas & puellaria spectacula comparari*; such is the excellency of these studies, that all those ornaments and childish bubbles of wealth are not worthy to be compared to them: *crede mihi*, (²saith one) *extingui dulce erit mathematicarum artium studio*, I could even live and die with such meditations, ³and take more delight, true content of mind, in them than thou hast in all thy wealth and sport, how rich soever thou art. And, as ⁴*Cardan* well seconds me, *Honorabile magis est et gloriosum huc intelligere quam provinciis præesse, atque juvenem esse*.⁵ The like pleasure there is in all other Studies to such as are truly addicted to them. ⁶*Ea suavitatis* (one holds) *ut, cum quis ea degustaverit, quasi Po ulis Circeis captus, non possit unquam ab illis divelli*; the like sweetness, which, as *Circe's* Cup, bewitcheth a student, he cannot leave off, as well may witness those many laborious hours, days, and nights, spent in the voluminous Treatises written by them; the same content. ⁷*Julius Scaliger* was so much affected with Poetry, that he brake out into a pathological protestation, he had rather be the Author of 12 verses in *Lucan*, or such an ode in ⁸*Horace*, than Emperor of *Germany*. ⁹*Nicholas Gerbelius*, that good old man, was so much ravished with a few Greek Authors restored to light, with hope and desire of enjoying the rest, that he exclaims forthwith, *Arabibus atque Indis omnibus erimus ditiores*, we shall be richer than all the *Arabick* or *Indian* Princes; of such ¹⁰esteem they were with him, incomparable worth and value. *Seneca* prefers *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*, two doting *Stoicks*, (he was so much enamoured on their works), before any Prince or General of an Army; and *Orontius* the Mathematician so far admires *Archimedes*, that he calls him *divinum & homine majorem*, a petty God, more than a man; and well he might, for ought I see, if you respect fame or worth. *Pindar* of *Thebes* is as much renowned

¹ Lib. de cupid. divitiarum. [§ 10.] ² Leon. Diggs. Præfat. ad perpet. prognost. ³ Plus capio voluptatis, &c. ⁴ In Hyperchen. *divis.* 3. [= § iii.] ⁵ It is more honourable and glorious to understand these truths than to govern provinces, and to be young. ⁶ Cardan. Præfat. rerum variet. ⁷ Poetices lib. 3. Ode 9. [1.] Donec gratus eram tibi, &c. ⁸ De Pelopones. lib. 6. descr. p. 1. Græc. ⁹ Quos si integros haberemus, Dii Boni! quas opes, quos thesauros tenerem!

for his Poems, as *Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Hercules, or Bacchus*, his fellow citizens, for their warlike actions; *et si famam respicias, non pauciores Aristotelis quam Alexandri meminerunt*, (as Cardan notes), *Aristotle* is more known than *Alexander*; for we have a bare relation of *Alexander's* deeds, but *Aristotle totus vivit in monumentis*, is whole in his works: yet I stand not upon this; the delight is it which I aim at; so great pleasure, such sweet content, there is in study. ¹*King James, 1605*, when he came to our University of *Oxford*, and, amongst other edifices, now went to view that famous Library, renewed by *Sr. Thomas Bodley*, in imitation of *Alexander*, at his departure brake out into that noble speech, If I were not a King, I would be an University man; ²*and if it were so that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would desire to have no other prison than that Library, and to be chained together with so many good Authors et mortuis magistris.* So sweet is the delight of study, the more learning they have, (as he that hath a Dropsy, the more he drinks the thirstier he is), the more they covet to learn, and the last day is [the pupil of the former;] *prioris discipulus*; ³harsh at first learning is, *radices amaræ*, but *fructus dulces*, according to that of *Isocrates*, ⁴pleasant at last; the longer they live, the more they are enamoured with the Muses. *Heinsius*, the keeper of the Library at *Leyden* in *Holland*, was mewed up in it all the year long; and that which to thy thinking should have bred a loathing caused in him a greater liking. ⁵*I no sooner (saith he) come into the Library, but I bolt the door to me, excluding lust, ambition, avarice, and all such vices, whose nurse is idleness, the mother of ignorance, and Melancholy herself, and in the very lap of eternity, amongst so many divine souls, I take my seat, with so lofty a spirit and sweet content, that I pity all our great ones, and rich men that know not this happiness.* I am not ignorant in the mean time (notwithstanding this which I have said) how barbarously and basely

¹ Isaac Wake, Musæ Regnantes. ² Si unquam mihi in fatis sit ut captivus ducar, si mihi daretur optio, hoc cuperem carcere concludi, his catenis illigari, cum hisce captivis concatenatus retatem agere. [³ *Publius Syrus*, Discipulus est prioris posterior dies.] [⁴ *Ad Demonicum*, §§ 18, 33.] ⁵ *Epist. Primerio*. Merumque in qua simul ac pedem posui, foribus pessulum obdo; ambitionem autem, amorem, libidinem, etc. excludo, quorum parens est ignavia, imperitia nutrix; et in ipso æternitatis gremio, inter tot illustres animas sedem mihi sumo, cum ingenti quidem animo, ut subinde magnatum me misereat, qui felicitatem hanc ignorant.

for the most part our ruder Gentry esteem of Libraries & Books, how they neglect & contemn so great a treasure, so inestimable a benefit, as *Æsop's* Cock did the Jewel he found in the dunghill,¹ and through error, ignorance, and want of education. And 'tis a wonder withal to observe how much they will vainly cast away in unnecessary expences, *quot modis pereant* (saith ²*Erasmus*) *magnatibus pecuniæ, quantum absumant alea, scorta, computationes, profectiones non necessariae, pompæ, bella quæsitæ, ambitio, colax, morio, ludio, &c.* what in hawks, hounds, law-suits, vain building, gormandizing, drinking, sports, plays, pastimes, &c. If a well minded man to the Muses would sue to some of them for an Exhibition, to the farther maintenance or enlargement of such a work, be it College, Lecture, Library, or whatsoever else may tend to the Advancement of Learning, they are so unwilling, so averse, they had rather see these which are already with such cost and care erected, utterly ruined, demolished, or otherwise employed; for they repine many and grudge at such gifts and revenues so bestowed: and therefore it were in vain, as *Erasmus* well notes, *vel ab his vel à negotiatoribus qui se Mammonæ dederunt, improbum fortasse tale officium exigere*, to solicit or ask any thing of such men, that are likely damn'd to riches, to this purpose. For my part I pity these men, *stultos jubeo esse libenter*, [I] let them go as they are, in the catalogue of *Ignoramus*. How much, on the other side, are all we bound, that are Scholars, to those munificent *Ptolemies*, bountiful *Mæcenases*, heroical Patrons, divine spirits,

———³*qui nobis hæc otia fecerunt, Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus*———

[Who gave me all this comfort, in my eyes
Will ever be a God:]

that have provided for us so many well furnished Libraries as well in our publick Academies in most Cities, as in our private Colleges! How shall I remember ⁴*Sir Thomas Bodley*, amongst the rest, ⁵*Olho Nicholson*, and the Right Reverend *John Williams*, Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, (with many other pious aets), who besides that at *S. John's* College in *Cambridge*, that in *Westminster*, is now likewise in *feri* [engaged] with a Library at *Lincoln*, (a noble precedent for all Corporate Towns and Cities to imitate!) *O quam te memorem? (vir illustrissime!) quibus elogiis?*⁶ But to my task again.

[¹ Phædr. Fab. iii. 12.] ² Chil. 2. Cent. 1. Adag. 1. ³ Virg. Eclog. i. [6, 7.]

⁴ Founder of our Public Library in Oxon. ⁵ Ours, in Christ Church, Oxon.

[⁶ O, how can I sufficiently eulogize you, most illustrious man?]

Whosoever he is, therefore, that is overrun with solitariness, or carried away with pleasing melancholy and vain conceits, and for want of employment knows not how to spend his time, or crucified with worldly care, I can prescribe him no better remedy than this of 'study, to compose himself to the learning of some art or science. Provided always that his malady proceed not from overmuch study, for in such cases he adds fuel to the fire, and nothing can be more pernicious; let him take heed he do not overstretch his wits, and make *skelton* of himself; or such Inamoratoes as read nothing but Play-books, idle Poems, Jests, *Amadis de Gaul*, *the Knight of the Sun*, *the Seven Champions*, *Palmerin de Oliva*, [*Sir*] *Huon of Bordeaux*, &c. Such many times prove in the end as mad as *Don Quixote*. Study is only prescribed to those that are otherwise idle, troubled in mind, or carried headlong with vain thoughts and imaginations, to distract their cogitations, (although variety of study, or some serious subject, would do the former no harm), and divert their continual meditations another way. Nothing in this case better than study; *semper aliquid memoriter ediscant*, saith *Piso*, let them learn something without book, transcribe, translate, &c. read the Scriptures, which *Hyperius* l. 1. *de quotid. script. lec. fol.* 77, holds available of itself; *'the mind is erected thereby from all worldly cares, and hath much quiet and tranquillity.* For, as *Austin*² well hath it, *'tis scientia scientiarum, omni melle dulcior, omni pane suavior, omni vino hilarior*: 'tis the best *nepenthes*,³ surest cordial, sweetest alterative, presentest diverter. For neither, as *Chrysostom*⁴ well adds, *those boughs and leaves of trees which are plashed for cattle to stand under, in the heat of the day, in Summer, so much refresh them with their acceptable shade, as the reading of the Scripture doth recreate and comfort a distressed soul in sorrow and affliction.* Paul bids pray continually; *quod cibis corpori, lectio anime facit*, saith *Seneca*, as meat is to the body, such is reading to the soul. ⁵ *To be at leisure without books is another Hell, & to be buried alive.* ⁶ *Cardan* calls a Library the physick of the soul; *'divine authors fortify the mind, make men bold and*

¹ *Animus levatur inde à curis multa quiete et tranquillitate fruens.* ² Ser. 38. ad Fratres Erem. [³ *Odyssey*, iv. 221 sq.] ⁴ Hom. 4. de prænitentia. Nam neque arborum comæ pro pecorum tuguriis factæ, meridie per æstatem optabilem exhibentes unbram, oves ita reficiunt, ac Scripturarum lectio afflictas angore animas solatur et recreat. [⁵ 1. *Thess.* v. 17.] ⁶ *Otium sine literis mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura.* *Seneca*, [Epistle 82.] ⁷ Cap. 99. l. 57. de rer. var. ⁸ Fortem reddunt animi et constantem, et pium colloquium non permittit animum absurdâ cogitatione torqueri.

constant; and (as *Hyperius* adds) *godly conference will not permit the mind to be tortured with absurd cogitations.* *Rhasis* enjoins continual conference to such melancholy men, perpetual discourse of some history, tale, poem, news, &c. *alternos sermones edere ac bibere, æquè jucundum quam cibis, sive potus*, which feeds the mind as meat and drink doth the body, and pleaseth as much: and therefore the said *Rhasis* not without good cause would have somebody still talk seriously, or dispute with them, and sometimes ¹to cavil and wrangle, (so that it break not out to a violent perturbation). *for such altercation is like stirring of a dead fire to make it burn afresh*, it whets a dull spirit, and will not suffer the mind to be drowned in those profound cogitations which melancholy men are commonly troubled with. ²*Ferdinand* and *Alphonso*, Kings of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, were both cured by reading the History, one of *Curtius*, the other of *Livy*, when no prescribed Physick would take place. ³*Camerarius* relates as much of *Lorenzo [de] Medici*. Heathen Philosophers are so full of divine precepts in this kind, that, as some think, they alone are able to settle a distressed mind. *⁴Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire doorem, &c. Epictetus, Iularch, & Seneca. Qualis ille, quæ tela, saith Lipsius, adversus omnes animi casus administrat, & ipsam mortem, quomodo vitia eripit, infert virtutes!* When I read *Seneca*, ⁵*methinks I am beyond all human fortunes, on the top of an hill above mortality.* *Plutarch* saith as much of *Homer*, for which cause belike *Niceratus*, in *Xenophon*, ⁶was made by his parents to con *Homer's Iliad* and *Odyssey* without book, *ut in virum bonum evaderet*, as well to make him a good and honest man as to avoid idleness. If this comfort may be got by Philosophy, what shall be had from Divinity? What shall *Austin*, *Cyprian*, *Gregory*, *Bernard's* divine meditations afford us?

Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicunt.⁷

Nay, what shall the Scripture itself, which is like an Apothecary's Shop, wherein are all remedies for all infirmities of mind, purgatives cordials, alteratives, corroboratives, lenitives, &c. *Every disease of*

¹ Altercationibus antantur, quæ non permittunt animum submergi profundis cogitationibus, de quibus otiose cogitat, et tristatur in iis. ² Bodin. Præfat. ad meth. hist. ³ Operum subcis. cap. 15. ⁴ Hor. [Epp. i. i. 34.] ⁵ Fatendum est cacumine Olympi constitutus, supra ventos et procellas, et omnes res humanas. [⁶ Symposium, iii. 5.] [⁷ Hor. Epp. i. ii. 4. Who explain what is fair, foul, useful, worthless, more fully and better than Chrysippus and Crantor.]

the soul, saith ¹Austin, hath a peculiar medicine in the Scripture; this only is required that the sick man take the potion which God hath already tempered. ²Gregory calls it a glass wherein we may see all our infirmities, *ignitum colloquium*, *Psalm*. 119. 140, ³Origen a Charm. And therefore Hierome prescribes Rusticus the Monk, 'continually to read the Scripture, and to meditate on that which he hath read; for as mastication is to meat, so is meditation on that which we read. I would for these causes wish him that is melancholy to use both human and divine Authors, voluntarily to impose some task upon himself, to divert his melancholy thoughts: to study the art of memory, *Cosmus Rosselius*, *Pet. Ravennas*, *Scenkelius' Detectus*, or practise *Brachygraphy*,⁵ &c. that will ask a great deal of attention: or let him demonstrate a Proposition in *Euclid* in his last five Books, extract a square root, or study *Algebra*: than which, as ⁶Clavius holds, in all humane disciplines nothing can be more excellent & pleasant, so abstruse & and recondite, so bewitching, so miraculous, so ravishing, so easy withal & full of delight, *omnem humanum captum superare videtur*. By this means you may define *ex ungue leonem*,⁷ as the proverb is, by his thumb alone the bigness of *Hercules*, or the true dimensions or the great ⁸*Collossus*, *Solomon's Temple*, and *Domitian's Amphitheatre*, out of a little part. By this art you may contemplate the variation of the 23 letters, which may be so infinitely varied, that the words complicated and deduced thence will not be contained within the compass of the firmament; ten words may be varied 40,320 several ways: by this art you may examine how many men may stand one by another in the whole superficies of the Earth, some say 148,456,800,000,000, *assignando singulis passum quadratum*⁹ how many men, supposing all the World as habitable as *France*, as fruitful and so long lived, may be born in 60,000 years? and so may you demonstrate, with *Archimedes*,¹⁰ how many sands the mass of the whole World might contain if all sandy, if you did but first

¹ In Ps. xxxvi. *Omnis morbus animi in Scripturâ habet medicinam; tantum opus est ut qui sit æger non recuset potionem quam Deus temperavit.* ² In moral. Speculum quo nos intueri possimus. ³ Hom. 28. Ut incantatione virus fugatur, ita lectione malum. ⁴ Iterum atque iterum moneo, ut animam Sacræ Scripturæ lectione occupes. Mastica divinum pabulum meditatio. [Epistle 125.] ⁵ What we now call *Shorthand*. ⁶ Ad 2. definit. 2. elem. In disciplinis humanis nihil præstantius reperitur: quippe miracula quædam numerorum eruit tam abstrusa et recondita, tanta nihilominus facilitate et voluptate, ut, &c. ⁷ Erasm. Adagia p. 347. A lion by his claw. Diverb = proverb. ⁸ Which contained 1,080,000 weights of brass. ⁹ Assigning a square foot to each. ¹⁰ Vide Clavium in comm. de Sacrobosco.

know how much a small cube as big as a mustard-seed might hold, with infinite such. But in all Nature what is there so stupend as to examine and calculate the motion of the Planets, their Magnitudes, Apogeums, Perigeums, Eccentricities, how far distant from the Earth, the bigness, thickness, compass of the Firmament, each star, with their diameters and circumference, apparent *area, superficies*, by those curious helps of Glasses, Astrolabes, Sextants, Quadrants, of which *Tycho Brahe* in his *Mechanicks*, Opticks ('divine Opticks!') Arithmetick, Geometry, and such like arts and instruments? What so intricate, and pleasing withal, as to peruse and practise *Hero Alexandrinus'* works, *de spiritalibus, de machinis bellicis, de machinâ se movente*, *Jordani Nemorarii de ponderibus proposit. 13*, that pleasant Tract of Machometes Bragdedinus *de superficierum divisionibus*, *Apollonius' Conicks*, or *Commandinus'* labours in that kind, *de centro gravitatis*, with many such Geometrical Theorems and Problems? Those rare instruments and mechanical inventions of *Jac. Bessonius* and *Cardan* to this purpose, with many such experiments intimated long since by *Roger Bacon*, in his Tract de *Secretis Artis et Nature*, as to make a chariot to move *sine animali*,³ diving boats, to walk on the water by art & to fly in the air, to make several cranes and pullies, *quibus homo trahat ad se mille homines*, lift up & remove great weights, mills to move themselves, *Archytas'* 'Dove, *Albertus'* brasen head, and such thaumaturgical works. But especially to do strange miracles by glasses, of which *Proclus* and *Bacon* writ of old, burning glasses, multiplying glasses, perspectives, *ut unus homo appareat exercitus*,⁵ to see afar off, to represent solid bodies by cylinders and concaves, to walk in the air, *ut veraciter videant* (saith *Bacon*) *aurum et argentum et quicquid aliud volunt, et quum veniant ad locum visionis, nihil inventiant*, which glasses are much perfected of late by *Baptista Porta* & *Galileo*, & much more is promised by *Maginus* & *Midorgius*, to be performed in this kind. *Otaousticons*⁶ some speak of, to intend hearing, as the others do sight; *Marcellus Vrencken*, an *Hollander*, in his Epistle to *Burgravius*, makes mention of a friend of his that is about an instrument, *quo videbit quæ in altero Horizonte sint*. But our Alchemists, methinks, and Rosy-Cross men⁷ afford most rarities, and are fuller of experiments:

¹ Distantias Cœlorum sola Optica dijudicat. ² Cap. 4. et 5. [³ Without an animal.] [⁴ See Aulus Gellius, x. 12.] [⁵ That one man appears an army.] [⁶ Instruments to facilitate hearing.] [⁷ Rosicrucians we now call them. The old world Freemasons.]

they can make gold, separate and alter metals, extract oils, salts, lees, and do more strange works than *Geber*, *Lullius*, *Bacon*, or any of those Ancients. *Crollius* hath made, after his master *Paracelsus*, *aurum fulminans*, or *aurum volatile*, which shall imitate thunder and lightning, and crack louder than any gunpowder; *Cornelius Drible* a perpetual motion, inextinguible lights, *linum non ardens* with many such feats; see his book *de natyra elementorum*, besides hail, wind, snow, thunder, lightning, &c. those strange fire-works, devilish petards, and such like warlike machinations, derived hence, of which read *Tartalea* and others. *Ernestus Burgravius*, a disciple of *Paracelsus*, hath published a discourse, in which he specifies a lamp to be made of man's blood, *lucerna vitæ et mortis index*, so he terms it, which chemically prepared 40 days, and afterwards kept in a glass, shall shew all the accidents of this life; *si lampas hic clarus, tunc homo hilaris, et sanus corpore & animo; si nebulosus & depressus, malè afficitur; & sic pro statu hominis variatur, unde sumptus sanguis;*¹ and, which is most wonderful, it dies with the party, *cum homine perit et evanescit*, the lamp and the man whence the blood was taken are extinguished together. The same author hath another Tract of *Mumia*, (all out as vain and prodigious as the first), by which he will cure most diseases, and transfer them from a man to a beast, by drawing blood from one, and applying it to the other, *vel in plantam derivare*, and an *alexipharmacum*, of which *Roger Bacon* of old, in his *Tract. de retardanda senectute*, to make a man young again, live 3 or 4 hundred years; besides panaceas, martial amulets, *unguentum armarium*, balsams, strange extracts, elixirs, and such like magico-magetical cures. Now what so pleasing can there be as the speculation of these things, to read and examine such experiments, or, if a man be more mathematically given, to calculate or peruse *Napier's Logarithms*, or those tables of artificial² *Sines* and *Tangents*, not long since set out by mine old Collegiate, good friend, and late Fellow-Student, of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*,³ *M. Edmund Gunter*, which will perform that by addition and subtraction only, which heretofore *Regiomontanus*' Tables did by multiplication and division, or those elaborate conclusions of his⁴ *Sector*, *Quadrant*, and *Cross-*

[¹ If this lamp burn brightly, then the man is cheerful, and healthy in mind and body; if, on the other hand, he from whom the blood is taken be melancholy or depressed, then it will burn dimly.] ² Printed at London, Anno 1620. ³ Once Astronomy Reader at Gresham College. ⁴ Printed at London by William Jones, 1623.

staff. Or let him that is melancholy calculate Spherical Triangles, square a circle, cast a Nativity, which howsoever some tax, I say with *'Garceus, dabimus hoc petulantibus ingeniis*, we will in some cases allow: or let him make an *Ephemerides*,² read *Suisset* the Calculator's works, *Scaliger de emendatione temporum*, and *Petavius*,¹ his adversary, till he understand them, peruse subtle *Scotus*' and *Gaures*' Metaphysicks, or School Divinity, *Occam, Thomas*,³ *Entis-lérus, Durand, &c.* If those other do not affect him, and his means be great, to employ his purse and fill his head, he may go find the Philosopher's Stone; he may apply his mind, I say, to *Heraldry, Antiquity*, invent Impresses, Emblems; make *Epithalamiums, Epitaphs, Elegies, Epigrams, Palindroma Epigrammata*,⁴ *Anagrams, Chronograms, Acrosticks* upon his friends' names; or write a Comment on *Martianus Capella, Tertullian de pallio*, the *Nubian Geography*, or upon *Ælia Lælia Crispis*,⁵ as many idle fellows have assayed; and rather than do nothing, vary a⁶ verse, a thousand ways with *Putean*, so torturing his wits, or as *Rainnerus of Lunenburg*,⁷ 2,150 times in his *Proteus Poeticus*, or *Scaliger, Chrysolithus, Cleppisius*, and others, have in like sort done. If such voluntary tasks, pleasure and delight, or crabbedness of these Studies, will not yet divert their idle thoughts, and alienate their imaginations, they must be compelled, saith *Christophorus à Vega, cogi debent*, l. 5. c. 14, upon some mulct, if they perform it not, *quod ex officio incumbat*, loss of credit or disgrace, such as our Publick University exercises. For as he that plays for nothing will not heed his game, no more will voluntary employment so freely affect a Student, except he be very intent of himself, and take an extraordinary delight in the study about which he is conversant. It should be of that nature his business, which *volens nolens* he must necessarily undergo, and without great loss, mulct, shame or hindrance, he may not omit.

Now for women, instead of laborious studies, they have curious needleworks, cut-works, spinning, bone-lace,⁸ and many pretty

¹ Præfat. Math. Astrol. [2 Astronomical tables showing the state of the Heavens for every day at Noon. See Latham's edition of Johnson's Dictionary.]
³ i. e., Thomas Aquinas. [4 Lines that run forward and backwards the same, e.g. Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.] [5 The Ælia Lælia Crispis Epitaph may be found in full, it is far too long to copy here, in Pettigrew's Epitaphs, p. 189, (ed. 1857). It is very curious.] [6 Tot tibi sunt dotes virgo, quot sidera cælo.
⁷ Da, pie Christe, urbi bona; sit pax tempore nostro! [8 On this word see Nares' Glossary.]

devices of their own making, to adorn their houses, Cushions, Carpets, Chairs, Stools, (*for she eats not the bread of idleness, Prov. 31. 27, quæsitit lanam et linum*), confections, conserves, distillations, &c. which they shew to strangers.

¹ Ipsa comes præsesque operis venientibus ultro
Hospitibus monstrare solet, non segniter horas
Contestata suas, sed nec sibi deperisse.

Which to her guests she shows, with all her self,
Thus far my maids, but this I did myself.

This they have to busy themselves about, household offices, &c. ² neat gardens, full of exotick, versicolour, diversely varied, sweet smelling flowers, and plants in all kinds, which they are most ambitious to get, curious to preserve and keep, proud to possess, and much many times brag of. Their merry meetings and frequent visitations, mutual invitations in good Towns, I voluntarily omit, which are so much in use, gossiping among the meaner sort, &c. Old folks have their beads, an excellent invention to keep them from idleness that are by nature melancholy, and past all affairs, to say so many *Pater Nosters, Ave Marias, Creeds*, if it were not profane and superstitious. In a word, body and mind must be exercised, not one, but both, and that in a mediocrity, otherwise it will cause a great inconvenience. If the body be overtired, it tires the mind. The mind oppresseth the body, as with Students it oftentimes falls out, who (as ³ *Plutarch* observes) have no care of the body, *but compel that which is mortal to do as much as that which is immortal, that which is earthly, as that which is ethereal. But as the Ox tired told the Camel, (both serving one Master), that refused to carry some part of his burden, before it were long he should be compelled to carry all his pack, and skin to boot, (which by and by, the Ox being dead, fell out) the body may say to the soul that will give him no respite, or remission: a little after an Ague, Vertigo, Consumption, seizeth on them both; all his study is omitted, and they must be compelled to be sick together.* He that tends his own good estate and health must

¹ Chalonerus, Lib. 9. de Rep. Angl.

² Hortus coronarius medicus et culinarius, &c. ³ De sapit. tuend. [§ 25.] Qui rationem corporis non habent sed cogunt mortalem immortalī, terrestrem æthereæ æqualem præstare industriam. Cæterum ut Camelo usu venit, quod ei Bos prædixerat, cum eidem servirent Domino, et parte oneris levare illum Camelus recusasset, paulo post et ipsius cutem, et totum onus cogeretur gestare, (quod mortuo bove impletum), ita animo quoque contingit, dum defatigato corpore, &c.

let them draw with equal yoke both alike, ¹ *that so they may happily enjoy their wished health.*

MEMB. V.

§

Waking and terrible Dreams rectified.

As waking, that hurts, by all means must be avoided, so sleep, which so much helps, by like ways ² *must be procured, by nature or art, inward or outward medicines, and be protracted longer than ordinary, if it may be, as being, an especial help.* It moistens and fattens the body, concocts, and helps digestion, (as we see in dormice, and those Alpine mice that sleep all Winter), which *Gesner* speaks of, when they are so found sleeping under the snow in the dead of Winter, as fat as butter. It expels cares, pacifies the mind, refresheth the weary limbs after long work.

³ Somne, quies rerum, placidissime Somne Deorum,
Pax animi, quem cura fugit, qui corpora duris
Fessa ministeriis mulces, reparasque labori.

Sleep, rest of things, O pleasing Deity,
Peace of the soul, which cares dost crucify,
Weary bodies refresh and mollify.

The chiefest thing in all Physick ⁴ *Paracelsus* calls it, *omnia arcana gemmarum superans et metallorum.* The fittest time is ⁵ *two or three hours after supper, when as the meat is now settled at the bottom of the stomach, and 'tis good to lie on the right side first, because at that side the liver doth rest under the stomach, not molesting any way, but heating him as a fire doth a kettle, that is put to it. After the first sleep 'tis not amiss to lie on the left side, that the meat may the better descend,* and sometimes again on the belly, but never on the back. Seven or eight hours is a competent time for a melancholy man to rest, as *Crato* thinks; but, as some do, to lie in bed and not sleep, a day, or half a day together, to give

¹ Ut pulchram illam et amabilem sanitatem præstemus. [Do.] ² Interdicendæ vigiliæ; somni paulo longiores conciliandi. *Altomarus*, cap. 7. Somnus supra modum prodest, quovismodo conciliandus, *Piso*. ³ *Ovid*. [Met. xi. 623-625.] ⁴ In *Hippoc.* Aphorism.

⁵ *Crato*, cons. 21. lib. 2. Duabus aut tribus horis post cœnam, quum jam cibus ad fundum ventriculi resederit, primum super latere dextro quiescendum, quod in tali decubitu jecur sub ventriculo quiescat, non gravans sed cibum calefaciens, perinde ac ignis lebetem qui illi admoveatur; post primum somnum quiescendum latere sinistro, &c.

assent to pleasing conceits and vain imaginations, is many ways pernicious. To procure this sweet moistening sleep, it's best to take away the occasions (if it be possible) that hinder it, and then to use such inward or outward remedies, which may cause it. *Constat hodie* (saith *Boissardus*, in his *Tract de magiâ*, c. 4.) *multos ita fascinari, ut noctes integras exigant insomnes, summâ iniquitâ animorum & corporum*; many cannot sleep for Witches and Fashinations, which are too familiar in some places, they call it, *das e alicui malam noctem*.¹ But the ordinary causes are heat and dryness, which must first be removed; ²a hot and dry brain never sleeps well: grief, fears, cares, expectations, anxieties, great businesses, ³*in aurem utramque otiose ut dormias*, and all violent perturbations of the mind must in some sort be qualified, before we can hope for any good repose. He that sleeps in the day time, or is in suspense, fear, any way troubled in mind, or goes to bed upon a full ⁴stomack, may never hope for quiet rest in the night; *nec enim meritoria somnos admittunt*, as the ⁵Poet saith; Inns and such like troublesome places are not for sleep; one calls Ostler, another Tapster, one cries and shouts, another sings, whoops, halloos,

—— ⁶absentem cantat amicam,
Multâ prolutus vappâ, nauta atque viator.

Who, not accustomed to such noises, can sleep amongst them? He that will intend to take his rest must go to bed *animo securo, quieto et libero*, with a ⁷secure and composed mind, in a quiet place; *omnia noctis erunt placidâ compôsta quiete*.⁸ & if that will not serve, or may not be obtained, to seek then such means as are requisite. To lie in clean linen & sweet; before he goes to bed, or in bed, to hear ⁹sweet Musick, which *Ficinus* commends, *lib. i. cap. 24*, or as *Jobertus, med. pract. l. 3. c. 10*, ¹⁰*to read some pleasant Author till he be asleep, to have a bason of water still dropping by his bed side, or to lie near that pleasant murmur*, ¹¹*lene*

[¹ To give a person a bad night.] ² Sæpius accidit melancholicis, ut nimum exsiccat cerebro vigiliis attenuentur. *Ficinus, lib. i. cap. 29.* ³ Ter. [*Heautontimorumenos*, ii. iii. 101. That you may sleep soundly on either ear.] ⁴ Ut sis nocte levis, sit tibi cœna brevis. [*Regimen Sanitatis Salerni.*] ⁵ *Juven. Sat. 3. [234-235.]* ⁶ *Hor. Ser. lib. i. Sat. 5. [15, 16. A tipsy sailor and a traveller sing the praises of their absent sweethearts.]* ⁷ *Sepositis curis omnibus quantum fieri potest, una cum vestibus, &c. Kirkst.* [⁸ A line of Varro, quoted by Seneca, *Epist. 56.*] ⁹ Ad horam somni aures suavis cantibus et sonis delinire. ¹⁰ *Lectio jucunda, aut sermo, ad quem attentior animus convertitur, aut aqua ab alto in subjectam pelvim delabatur, &c.* ¹¹ *Ovid. [F. ii. 704.]*

sonantis aquæ,¹ some flood-gates, arches, falls of water, like *London Bridge*, or some continue noise which may benumb the senses. *Lenis motus, silentium et tenebræ, tum et ipsa voluntas somnos faciunt*; as a gentle noise to some procures sleep, so, which *Bernardinus Tilesius, lib. de somno*, well observes, silence, in a dark room, and the will itself, is most available to others. *Piso* commends frications, *Andrew Borde* a good draught of strong drink before one goes to bed; I say, a nutmeg and ale, or a good draught of muscadine, with a toast and nutmeg, or a posset of the same, which many use in a morning, but, methinks, for such as have dry brains, are much more proper at night; some prescribe a ²sup of vinegar as they go to bed, a spoonful saith *Aëtius, Tetrabib. lib. 2. ser. 2. cap. 10. l. 6. cap. 10, Ægineta, lib. 3. cap. 14, Piso, a little after meat*, ³because it rarifies melancholy, and procures an appetite to sleep. *Donat, ab Altomar, c. 7, and Mercurialis* approve of it, if the malady proceed from the ⁴spleen. *Sallust. Salvia. lib. 2. cap. 1. de remed. Hercules de Saxoniâ, (in Pan.), Ælianus Montaltus, de morb. capitis, c. 28, de Melan.* are altogether against it. *Lod. Mercatus, de inter. Morb. cau. l. 1. c. 17*, in some cases doth allow it. ⁵*Rhasis* seems to deliberate of it, though *Simeon* commend it (in sauce peradventure) he makes a question of it: as for baths, fomentations, oils, potions, simples or compounds, inwardly taken to this purpose, ⁶I shall speak of them elsewhere. If in the midst of the night when they lie awake, which is usual to toss and tumble, and not sleep, ⁷*Ranzovius* would have them, if it be in warm weather, to rise and walk, three or four turns (till they be cold) about the chamber, and then go to bed again.

Against fearful and troublesome dreams, *incubus*,⁸ and such inconveniences, wherewith melancholy men are molested, the best remedy is to eat a light supper, and of such meats as are easy of digestion; no Hare, Venison, Beef, &c. not to lie on his back, not to meditate or think in the day time of any terrible objects, or especially talk of them before he goes to bed. For, as he said in *Lucian*⁹ after such conference, *Hecatas somniare mihi videor*, I can think of nothing but Hobgoblins: and, as *Tully*

[¹ Of water gliding with a gentle music.]
melancholiam, et ad conciliandum somnum juvat.

² Cont. 1. Tract. 9. meditandum de aceto.

³ Lib. de sanit. tuenda. [⁸ = nightmare.]

⁴ Aceti sorbitio.

⁵ Attenuat

⁶ Quod lieni acetum conveniat.

⁷ Sect. 5. Memb. 1. Subsect. 6.

⁸ Philopseudes, § 39.]

notes, ¹*for the most part our speeches in the day time cause our phantasy to work upon the like in our sleep*, which *Ennius* writes of *Homer*:

Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat :

as a dog dreams of an hare, so do men on such subjects they thought on last.

²*Somnia quæ mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
Nec Delubra Desum, nec ab æthere Numina mittunt,
Sed sibi quisque facit, &c.*

[The Gods send not our dreams, we make our own.]

For that cause, when *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, had posed the 70 interpreters in order, and asked the nineteenth man, what would make one sleep quietly in the night, he told him ³*the best way was to have divine and celestial meditations, and to use honest actions in the day time*. ⁴*Lod. Vives wonders how Schoolmen could sleep quietly, and were not terrified in the night, or walk in the dark, they had such monstrous questions, and thought of such terrible matters all day long*. They had need amongst the rest to sacrifice to God *Morpheus*, whom ⁵*Philostratus* paints in a white and black coat, with a horn and ivory box full of dreams, of the same colours, to signify good and bad. If you will know how to interpret them, read *Artemidorus*, *Sambucus*, and *Cardan*; but how to help them, ⁶I must refer you to a more convenient place.

MEMB. VI.

SUBJECT. I.—*Perturbations of the mind rectified. From himself, by resisting to the utmost, confessing his grief to a friend, &c.*

WHOSOEVER he is that shall hope to cure this malady in himself or any other, must first rectify these passions and perturbations of the mind; the chiefest cure consists in them. A quiet mind is that *voluptas*, or *summum bonum*, of *Epicurus*, *non dolere, curis vacare, animo tranquillo esse*, not to grieve, but to want cares, and have a quiet soul, is the only pleasure of the World, as

¹ In Som. Scip. Fit enim fere ut cogitationes nostræ et sermones pariant aliquid in somno, quale de Homero scribit Ennius, de quo videlicet sæpissimè vigilans solebat cogitare et loqui. [An. i. 3?] ² Aristæ Hist. ³ Optimum de cœlestibus et honestis meditari, et ea facere. ⁴ Lib. 3. de causis corr. art. Tam mira monstra quæstionum sæpe nascuntur inter eos, ut mirer eos interdum in somniis non terreri, aut de illis in tenebris audere verba facere, adeo res sunt monstrosæ. ⁵ Icon. lib. 1. ⁶ Sect. 5. Memb. 1. Subs. 6.

*Seneca*¹ truly recites his opinion, not that of eating and drinking, which injurious *Aristotle*² maliciously puts upon him, and for which he is still mistaken, *malè audit et vapulat*, slandered without a cause, and lashed by all posterity. ³ *Fear and sorrow therefore are especially to be avoided, and the mind to be mitigated with mirth, constancy, good hope; vain terror, bad objects, are to be removed, and all such persons in whose companies they be not well pleased. Gualter Bruel, Fernelius, consil. 43, Mercurialis, consil. 6, Piso, Jacchinus, cap. 15. in 9, Rhasis, Capiuaccius, Hildesheim, &c.* all inculcate this as an especial means of their cure, that their ⁴ *minds be quietly pacified, vain conceits diverted, if it be possible, with terrors, cares, fixed studies, cogitations, and whatsoever it is that shall any way molest or trouble the soul*, because that otherwise there is no good to be done. ⁵ *The body's mischiefs, as Plato proves, proceed from the soul: and if the mind be not first satisfied, the body can never be cured.* *Alcibiades* raves (saith ⁷ *Maximus Tyrius*) and is sick, his furious desires carry him from [the] *Lyceum* to the pleading-place, thence to the Sea, so into *Sicily*, thence to *Lacedæmon*, thence to *Persia*, thence to *Samos*, then again to *Athens*; *Critias* tyrannizeth over all the city; *Surdanapalus* is love-sick; these men are ill-affected all, and can never be cured, till their minds be otherwise qualified. *Crato* therefore, in that often cited Counsel of his for a Nobleman his Patient, when he had sufficiently informed him in diet, air, exercise, Venus, sleep, concludes with these as matters of greatest moment, *quod reliquum est, animæ accidentia corrigántur*,⁸ from which alone proceeds Melancholy; they are the fountain, the subject, the hinges whereon it turns, and must necessarily be reformed. ⁹ *For anger stirs choler, heats*

[¹ Epistle, 66, § 42, memoriter.] [² Aristotle must be a mistake of Burton, for he died when Epicurus was only 19 or 20. Possibly a slip for Athenæus, e.g. Lib. iii. cap. 21.] ³ *Animi perturbationes summè fugiendæ, metus potissimum et tristitia: eorumque loco animus demulcendus hilaritate, animi constantia, bona spe; removendi terrores, et eorum consortium quos non probant.* ⁴ *Phantasie eorum placidè subvertendæ, terrores ab animo removendi.* ⁵ *Ab omni fixa cogitatione quovismodo avertantur.* ⁶ *Cuncta mala corporis ab animo procedunt, quæ nisi curentur, corpus curari minime potest, Charmid. [p. 156, E. 157, A.]*

⁷ *Dissertatio [xiii.] An morbi graviores corporis an animi? Renoldo interpret. Ut parum absit à furore, rapitur à Lyceo in concionem, à concione ad mare, à mari in Siciliam, &c.* [⁸ For the rest, let everything that touches the mind be corrected.] ⁹ *Ira bilem movet, sanguinem adurit, vitales spiritus accendit; moestitia universum corpus infrigidat, calorem innatum extinguit, appetitum destruit, concoctionem impedit, corpus exsiccat, intellectum pervertit. Quamobrem hæc omnia prorsus vitanda sunt, et pro virili fugienda.*

*the blood and vital spirits ; sorrow on the other side refrigerates the body, and extinguisheth natural heat, overthrows appetite, hinders concoction, dries up the temperature, and perverts the understanding : fear dissolves the spirits, infects the heart, attenuates the soul : and for these causes all passions and perturbations must, to the uttermost of our power, and most seriously, be removed. Aelianus Montaltus attributes so much to them, ¹ that he holds the rectification of them alone to be sufficient to the cure of Melancholy in most Patients. Many are fully cured when they have seen or heard, &c. enjoy their desires, or be secured and satisfied in their minds. Galen, the common Master of them all, from whose fountain they [all] fetch water, brags, *l. 1. de san. tuend.* that he for his part hath cured divers of this infirmity, *solum animis ad rectum institutis*, by right settling alone of their minds.*

Yea, but you will here infer, that this is excellent good indeed if it could be done ; but how shall it be effected, by whom, what art, what means ? *hic labor, hoc opus est.*² 'Tis a natural infirmity, a most powerful adversary : all men are subject to passions, and melancholy above all others, as being distempered by their innate humours, abundance of choler adust, weakness of parts, outward occurrences ; and how shall they be avoided ? The wisest men, greatest Philosophers, of most excellent wit, reason, judgement, divine spirits, cannot moderate themselves in this behalf ; such as are sound in body and mind, *Stoicks, Heroes, Homer's Gods*, all are passionate, and furiously carried sometimes ; and how shall we that are already crazed, *fracti animis*, sick in body, sick in mind, resist ? We cannot perform it. You may advise and give good precepts, as who cannot ? But how shall they be put in practice ? I may not deny but our passions are violent, and tyrannize of us, yet there be means to curb them ; though they be head-strong, they may be tamed, they may be qualified, if he himself or his friends will but use their honest endeavours, or make use of such ordinary helps as are commonly prescribed.

He himself (I say), from the Patient himself the first and chiefest remedy must be had ; for if he be averse, peevish, waspish, give way wholly to his passions, will not seek to be helped, or be ruled by his friends, how is it possible he should be cured ? But if he be willing at least, gentle, tractable, & desire his own good,

¹ De mel. cap. 26. Ex illis solum remedium ; multi ex visis, auditis, &c. sanati sunt. [² Virg. *Æn.* vi. 129. This is the labour, this the difficulty.]

no doubt but he may *magnum morbi deponere partem*, be eased at least, if not cured. He himself must do his utmost endeavour to resist & withstand the beginnings. *Principiis obsta.*¹ Give not water passage, no not a little, *Ecc.* 25. 25. If they open a little, they will make a greater breach at length. Whatsoever it is that runneth in his mind, vain conceit, be it pleasing or displeasing, which so much affects or troubleth him, *by all possible means he must withstand it, expel those vain, false, frivolous imaginations, absurd conceits, feigned fears and sorrows; from which, saith Piso, this disease primarily proceeds, and takes his first occasion or beginning, by doing something or other that shall be opposite unto them, thinking of something else, persuading by reason, or howsoever, to make a sudden alteration of them.* Though he have hitherto run in a full career, and precipitated himself, following his passions, giving reins to his appetite, let him now stop upon a sudden, curb himself in; and, as ²*Lemnius* adviseth, *strive against with all his power, to the utmost of his endeavour, and not cherish those fond imaginations, which so covertly creep into his mind, most pleasing and amiable at first, but bitter as gall at last, and so head-strong, that by no reason, art, counsel, or persuasion they may be shaken off.* Though he be far gone, and habituated unto such phantastical imaginations, yet, as ³*Tully*, and *Plutarch* advise, let him oppose, fortify, or prepare himself against them, by premeditation, reason, or, as we do by a crooked staff, bend himself another way.

⁵ Tu tamen interea effugito quæ tristia mentem
Sollicitant, procul esse jube curasque metumque
Pallentem, ultrices iras; sint omnia læta!

In the mean time expel them from thy mind,
Pale fears, sad cares, and griefs which do it grind,
Revengeful anger, pain and discontent;
Let all thy soul be set on merriment!

Curas tolle graves, irasci crede profanum.⁶

[Away with grief, think to be angry wicked.]

If it be idleness hath caused this infirmity, or that he perceive

[¹ Ovid, *Remed. Am.* 91.] ² Pro viribus annitendum in prædictis, tum in alijs, à quibus malum, velut à primariâ causa, occasionem nactum est; imaginationes absurdæ falsæque et moestitiæ quæcunque subierit propulsetur, aut aliud agendo, aut ratione persuadendo earum mutationem subito facere. ³ Lib. 2. c. 16. de occult. nat. Quisquis huic malo obnoxius est, acriter, obsistat, et summa cura oblectetur, nec ullo modo foveat imaginationes tacite obrepentes animo, blandas ab initio et amabiles, sed quæ adeo convalescant, ut nulla ratione excuti queant.

⁴ 3. Tusc. [cap. xiii. sq.] Ad Apollonium. [*passim.*] ⁵ Fracastorius. [⁶ Regimen Sanitatis Salerni.]

himself given to solitariness, to walk alone, and please his mind with fond imaginations, let him by all means avoid it; 'tis a bosom enemy, 'tis delightful melancholy, a friend in shew, but a secret devil; a sweet poison, it will in the end be his undoing; let him go presently, task or set himself a work, get some good company. If he proceed, as a gnat flies about a candle so long, till at length he burn his body, so in the end he will undo himself: if it be any harsh object, ill company, let him presently go from it. If by his own default, through ill diet, bad air, want of exercise, &c. let him now begin to reform himself. *It would be a perfect remedy against all corruption, if, as* ¹ *Roger Bacon hath it, we could but moderate ourselves in those six non-natural things.* ² *If it be any disgrace, abuse, temporal loss, calumny, death of friends, imprisonment, banishment, be not troubled with it, do not fear, be not angry, grieve not, at it, but with all courage sustain it.* (*Gordonius, lib. 1. c. 15. de conser. vit.*) *Tu contra audentior ito.* ³ ⁴ *If it be sickness, ill success, or any adversity that hath caused it, oppose an invincible courage, fortify thyself by God's word, or otherwise, mala bonis persuadenda, set prosperity against adversity, as we refresh our eyes by seeing some pleasant meadow, fountain, picture, or the like; recreate thy mind by some contrary object, with some more pleasing meditation divert thy thoughts.*

Yea, but you infer again, *facile consilium damus aliis*,⁵ we can easily give counsel to others; every man, as the saying is, can tame a shrew but he that hath her; *si hic esses, aliter sentiret*;⁶ if you were in our misery, you would find it otherwise, 'tis not so easily performed. We know this to be true, we should moderate ourselves, but we are furiously carried, we cannot make use of such precepts, we are overcome, sick, *malè sani*, distempered and habituated in these courses, we can make no resistance; you may as well bid him that is diseased not to feel pain, as a melancholy man not to fear, not to be sad: 'tis within his blood, his brains, his whole temperature; it cannot be removed. But he may choose

¹ Epist. de secretis artis et naturæ cap. 7. de Retard. sen. Remedium esset contra corruptionem propriam, si quilibet exerceret regimen sanitatis, quod consistit in rebus sex non naturalibus.

² Pro aliquo vituperio non indigneris, nec pro amissione alicujus rei, pro morte alicujus, nec pro carcere, nec pro exilio, nec pro alia re, nec irascaris, nec timeas, nec doleas, sed cum summa præsentia hæc sustineas. [³ Virg. Æn. vi. 95. Do you more boldly cope with difficulties.]

⁴ Quodsi incommoda adversitatis infortunia hoc malum invexerint, his infractum animum opponas, Dei verbo ejusque fiducia te suffulcias, &c. Lemnius, lib. 1. c. 16. [⁵ Ter. Andria, ii. 1. 9, memoriter.] [⁶ Ter. Andria, ii. 1. 10, memoriter.]

whether he will give way too far unto it, he may in some sort correct himself. A Philosopher was bitten with a mad dog, and as the nature of that disease is to abhor all waters, and liquid things, and to think still they see the picture of a dog before them: he went for all this, *reluctante se*, to the Bath, and seeing there (as he thought) in the water the picture of a dog, with reason overcame this conceit, *quid cani cum balneo?*¹ what should a dog do in a Bath? a mere conceit. 'Thou thinkest thou hearest and seest Devils, black men, &c. 'tis not so, 'tis thy corrupt phantasy, settle thine imagination, thou art well. Thou thinkest thou hast a great nose, thou art sick, every man observes thee, laughs thee to scorn; persuade thyself 'tis no such matter: this is fear only, and vain suspicion. Thou art discontent, thou art sad and heavy; but why? upon what ground? consider of it: thou art jealous, timorous, suspicious; for what cause? examine it thoroughly, thou shalt find none at all, or such as is to be condemned, such as thou wilt surely deride, and condemn in thyself, when it is past. Rule thyself then with reason, satisfy thyself, accustom thyself, wean thyself from such fond conceits, vain fears, strong imaginations, restless thoughts. Thou mayest do it; *est in nobis assuescere* (as *Plutarch* saith) we may frame ourselves as we will.² As he that useth an upright shoe may correct the obliquity or crookedness, by wearing it on the other side, [so] we may overcome passions if we will. *Quicquid sibi imperavit animus, obtinuit* (as ³*Seneca* saith): *nulli tam feri affectus, ut non disciplinâ perdomentur*; whatsoever the will desires, she may command: no such cruel affections, but by discipline they may be tamed; voluntarily thou wilt not do this or that, which thou oughtest to do, or refrain, &c. but when thou art lashed like a dull jade, thou wilt reform it; fear of a whip will make thee do, or not do. Do that voluntarily then which thou canst do, and must do by compulsion: thou mayst refrain, if thou wilt, and master thine affections. ⁴*As in a City* (saith *Melancthon*) *they do by stubborn rebellious rogues, that will not submit themselves to political judgement, compel them by force, so must we do by our affections. If the heart will not lay aside those vicious motions, and the phantasy those*

[¹ See *Erasmi Adagia*, pp. 166, 167.]

[² See *Plutarch On Education*, § iv.]

³ Lib. 2. de Ira. [cap. 36.]

⁴ Cap. 3. de affect. an. Ut in civitatibus contumaces qui non cedunt politico imperio vi coercendi sunt; ita Deus nobis indidit alteram imperii fornicem; si cor non deponit vitiosum affectum, membra foras coercenda sunt, ne ruant in quod affectus impellat; et locomotiva, quæ herili imperio obtemperat, alteri resistat.

fond imaginations, we have another form of government to enforce and refrain our outward members, that they be not led by our passions. If appetite will not obey, let the moving faculty over-rule her, let her resist and compel her to do otherwise. In an ague the appetite would drink, sore eyes that itch would be rubbed, but reason saith no, and therefore the moving faculty will not do it. Our phantasy would intrude a thousand fears, suspicions, chimæras upon us, but we have reason to resist, yet we let it be overborne by our appetite; *'imagination enforceth spirits which by an admirable league of nature compel the nerves to obey, and they our several limbs: we give too much way to our passions.* And as to him that is sick of an ague all things are distasteful and unpleasant, *non ex cibi vitio*, saith *Plutarch*,² not in the meat, but in our taste, so many things are offensive to us, not of themselves, but out of our corrupt judgement, jealousy, suspicion, and the like; we pull these mischiefs upon our own heads.

If then our judgement be so depraved, our reason over-ruled, will precipitated, that we cannot seek our own good, or moderate ourselves, as in this disease commonly it is, the best way for ease is to impart our misery to some friend, not to smother it up in our own breast; *alitur vitium crescitque tegendo*,³ &c. and that which was most offensive to us, a cause of fear and grief, *quod nunc te coquit*,⁴ another hell; for *'strangulat inclusus dolor atque exæstuat intus*, grief concealed strangles the soul; but when as we shall but impart it to some discreet, trusty, loving friend, it is ⁵instantly removed, by his counsel haply, wisdom, persuasion, advice, his good means, which we could not otherwise apply unto ourselves. A friend's counsel is a charm, like mandrake wine, *curas sopit*;⁷ and as a ⁶bull that is tied to a fig-tree becomes gentle on a sudden (which some, saith ⁸*Plutarch*, interpret of good words) so is a savage obdurate heart mollified by fair speeches. *All adversity finds ease in complaining*, (as ¹⁰*Isidore* holds), and *'tis a solace to relate it*,

¹ Imaginatio impellit spiritus, et inde nervi moventur, &c. et obtemperant imaginationi et appetitui mirabili fœdere, ad exsequendum quod jubent. [² See *Plutarch*, On Contentedness of Mind, § iii.] [³ *Virg. G. iii. 454.*] [⁴ *Cic. de Senectute, i. i.*] [⁵ *Ovid Trist. lib. 5. [i. 63.]*] [⁶ Participes inde calamitatis nostræ sunt, et velut exonerata in eos sarcina onere levamur. *Arist. Eth. lib. 9. [cap. ii.]*] [⁷ It allays our cares.] [⁸ *Camerarius, Embl. 26. cent. 2.*] [⁹ *Sympos. lib. 6. cap. 10.*] [¹⁰ *Epist. 8. lib. 3.* Adversa fortuna habet in querelis levamentum; et malorum relatio, &c.

¹ Ἀγαθὴ δὲ παρὰ φίλους ἴσθιν ἱταῖον.²

Friends' confabulations are comfortable at all times, as fire in Winter, shade in Summer, *quale sopor fessis in gramine*,³ meat and drink to him that is hungry or athirst; *Democritus'* *Collyrium* is not so sovereign to the eyes as this is to the heart; good words are cheerful & powerful of themselves, but much more from friends, as so many props, mutually sustaining each other like ivy and a wall, which *Camerarius* hath well illustrated in an *Emblem*. *Lenit animum simplex vel sæpè narratio*, the simple narration many times easeth our distressed mind, & in the midst of greatest extremities; so divers have been relieved, by ⁴exonerating themselves to a faithful friend: he sees that which we cannot see for passion and discontent, he pacifies our minds, he will ease our pain, assuage our anger; *quanta inde voluptas! quanta securitas!* *Chrysostom* adds what pleasure! what security by that means! ⁵*Nothing so available, or that so much refresheth the soul of man.* *Tully*, as I remember, in an Epistle to his dear friend *Atticus*, [1, 18, 7.] much condoles the defect of such a friend. ⁶*I live here (saith he) in a great City, where I have a multitude of acquaintance, but not a man of all that company with whom I dare familiarly breathe, or freely jest. Wherefore I expect thee, I desire thee, I send for thee; for there be many things which trouble and molest me, which, had I but thee in presence, I could quickly disburden myself of in a walking discourse.* The like peradventure may he and he say with that old man in the Comedy,

Nemo est meorum amicorum hodie,
Apud quem expromere occulta mea audeam,⁷

[I have not at this day one friend to whom
I dare entrust my secrets,]

and much inconvenience may both he and he suffer in the mean time by it. He or he, or whosoever then labours of this malady, by all means let him get some trusty friend,⁸ *Semper habens Pyladen aliquem qui curet Orestem*, a *Pylades*, to whom freely and securely he may open himself. For, as in all other occurrences, so it is in

¹ Alloquium cari juvat, et solamen amici. *Emblem*. 54. Cent. 1. [² *Hörn*. II. xi. 793; xv. 404.] [³ *Virg*. *Ecl*. v. 46. As sleep on the grass to the tired.]

⁴ As David did to Jonathan, 1 Sam. xx. ⁵ Seneca, *Epist*. 67. ⁶ Hic in civitate magna et turba magna neminem reperire possumus, quocum suspirare familiariter, aut joculari liberè, possumus. Quare te expectamus, te desideramus, te arcessimus. Multa sunt enim quæ me sollicitant et angunt, quæ mihi videor, aures tuas nactus, unius ambulationis sermone exhaustire posse. [⁷ *Ter*. *Heautontimorumenos*, iii. iii. 13, 14.] ⁸ *Ovid*. [*Remed*. Am. 589.]

this, *Si quis in cælum ascendisset, &c.* as he said in ¹ *Tully*, If a man had gone to heaven, *seen the beauty of the skies*, stars errant, fixed, &c. *insuavis erit admiratio*, it will do him no pleasure, except he have somebody to impart what he hath seen. It is the best thing in the world, as ² *Seneca* therefore adviseth in such a case, *to get a trusty friend, to whom we may freely and sincerely pour out our secrets; nothing so delighteth and easeth the mind, as when we have a prepared bosom, to which our secrets may descend, of whose conscience we are assured as our own, whose speech may ease our succourless estate, counsel relieve, mirth expel our mourning, and whose very sight may be acceptable unto us.* It was the counsel which that politick ³ *Comines* gave to all Princes, and others distressed in mind, by occasion of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, that was much perplexed, *first to pray to God, and lay himself open to him, and then to some special friend, whom we hold most dear, to tell all our grievances to him; nothing so forcible to strengthen, recreate, and heal, the wounded soul of a miserable man.*

SUBJECT. 2.—*Help from friends by Counsel, Comfort, fair and foul Means, witty Devices, Satisfaction, Alteration of his Course of Life, removing Objects, &c.*

WHEN the Patient of himself is not able to resist or overcome these heart-eating passions, his friends or Physician must be ready to supply that which is wanting. *Suæ erit humanitatis et sapientiæ* (which ⁴ *Tully* enjoineeth in like case) *siquid evatum, curare, aut improvisum, suâ diligentia corrigere.* They must all join; *nec satis medico*, saith ⁵ *Hippocrates*, *suum fecisse officium, nisi suum quoque ægrotus, suum astantes, &c.*⁶ First they must especially beware, a melancholy discontented person (be it in what kind of melancholy soever) never be left alone or idle: but, as Physicians prescribe physick, *cum custodiâ*, let them not be left unto them-

¹ De amicitia. [c. 23.] ² De tranquil. c. 7. Optimum est amicum fidelem nancisci, in quem secreta nostra infundamus. Nihil æque oblectat animum, quam ubi sint præparata pectora, in quæ tutò secreta descendant, quorum conscientia æque ac tua: quorum sermo solitudinem leniat, sententia consilium expedit, hilaritas tristitiam dissipet, conspectusque ipse delectet. ³ Comment. 1. [v. cap. v.] Ad Deum confugiamus, et peccatis veniam precemur, inde ad amicos, et cui plurimum tribuimus, nos patefaciamus totos, et animi vulnus quo affligimur: nihil ad reficiendum animum efficacious. ⁴ Ep. Q. frat. [Lib. i. Ep. 1.] ⁵ Aphor. prim. ⁶ It is not enough for the Physician to do his duty, the Patient and friends must do theirs too.]

selves, but with some company or other, lest by that means they aggravate and increase their disease; *non oportet ægros hujusmodi esse solos, vel inter ignotos, vel inter eos quos non amant aut negligunt*, as *Rod. à Fonseca, Tom. 1. consil. 35.* prescribes. *Lugentes custodire solemus*, (saith ¹*Seneca*), *ne solitudine male utantur*; we watch a sorrowful person lest he abuse his solitariness, and so should we do a melancholy man; set him about some business, exercise, or recreation, which may divert his thoughts, and still keep him otherwise intent; for his phantasy is so restless, operative, and quick, that if it be not in perpetual action, ever employed, it will work upon itself, melancholize, and be carried away instantly, with some fear, jealousy, discontent, suspicion, some vain conceit or other. If his weakness be such, that he cannot discern what is amiss, correct or satisfy, it behoves them by counsel, comfort, or persuasion, by fair or foul means, to alienate his mind, by some artificial invention, or some contrary perswasion, to remove all objects, causes, companies, occasions, as may anyways molest him, to humour him, please him, divert him, and, if it be possible, by altering his course of life, to give him security and satisfaction. If he conceal his grievances, and will not be known of them,² *they must observe by his looks, gestures, motions, phantasy, what it is that offends*, and then to apply remedies unto him. Many are instantly cured, when their minds are satisfied. ³*Alexander* makes mention of a woman that, by reason of her husband's long absence in travel, was exceedingly peevish and melancholy, but, when she heard her husband was returned, beyond all expectation, at the first sight of him, she was freed from all fear, without help of any other physick restored to her former health. *Trincavellius, consil. 12. lib. 1.* hath such a story of a *Venetian*, that, being much troubled with melancholy, ⁴*and ready to die for grief, when he heard his wife was brought to bed of a son, instantly recovered.* As *Alexander* concludes,⁵ *if our imaginations be not inveterate, by this art they may be cured, especially if they proceed from such a cause.* No better way to satisfy, than to remove the object, cause, occasion, if by any art or means possible we may find it out. If he grieve, stand in fear, be in suspicion, suspense,

¹ Epist. 10. ² Observando motus, gestus, manus, pedes, oculos, phantasiam. *Piso.* ³ Mulier melancholiâ correpta ex longa viri peregrinatione, et iracundâ omnibus respondens, quum maritus domum reversus, præter spem, &c. ⁴ Præ dolore moriturus, quum nunciatum esset uxorem peperisse filium, subito recuperavit.

⁵ Nisi affectus longo tempore infestaverit, tali artificio imaginationes curare oportet, præsertim ubi malum ab his, velut a primaria causa, occasionem habuerit.

or any way molested, secure him, *solvitur malum*, give him satisfaction, the cure is ended; alter his course of life, there needs no other Physick. If the party be sad, or otherwise affected, *consider* (saith ¹ *Trallianus*) *the manner of it, all circumstances, and forthwith make a sudden alteration*, by removing the occasions, avoid all terrible objects, heard or seen, ² *monstrous and prodigious aspects*, tales of Devils, Spirits, Ghosts, tragical stories; to such as are in fear, they strike a great impression, renew many times, and recall such Chimæras and terrible fictions into their minds. ³ *Make not so much as mention of them in private talk, or a dumb shew tending to that purpose: such things* (saith *Galateus*) *are offensive to their imaginations*. And to those that are now in sorrow ⁴ *Seneca forbids all sad companions, and such as lament; a groaning companion is an enemy to quietness*. ⁵ *Or if there be any such party, at whose presence the Patient is not well pleased, he must be removed: gentle speeches, and fair means must first be tried; no harsh language used, or uncomfortable words; and not expel, as some do, one madness with another; he that so doth is madder than the Patient himself*: all things must be quietly composed; *eversa non evertenda, sed erigenda*, things down must not be dejected, but reared, as *Crato* counselleth; ⁶ *he must be quietly and gently used*, and we should not do any thing against his mind, but by little and little effect it. As an horse that starts at a drum or trumpet, and will not endure the shooting of a piece, may be so manned by art, and animated, that he can not only endure, but is much more generous at the hearing of such things, much more courageous than before, and much delighteth in it: they must not be reformed, *ex abrupto*,⁷ but by all art and insinuation, made to such companies, aspects, objects, they could not formerly away with. Many at first cannot endure the sight of a green wound, a sick man, which afterwards become good chirurgeons, bold empiricks. A horse starts at a rotten post afar off, which coming near, he quietly passeth. 'Tis much in the manner of making such

¹ Lib. i. cap. 16. Si ex tristitia aut alio affectu cœperit, speciem considera, aut aliud quid eorum, quæ subitam alterationem facere possunt. ² Evitandi monstri-
fici aspectus, &c. ³ Neque enim tam actio, aut recordatio rerum hujusmodi
displicet, sed iis vel gestus alterius imaginationi adumbrare, vehementer molestum.

Galat. de mor. cap. 7. ⁴ [De] Tranquillitate, [vii. § 4.] Præcipue vitentur tristes,
et omnia deplorantes; tranquillitati inimicus est comes perturbatus, omnia gemens.

⁵ Illorum quoque hominum, à quorum consortio abhorrent, præsentia amovenda,
nec sermonibus ingratis obtundendi; si quis insaniam ab insanis sic curari æstimet,
et protervè utitur, magis quam æger insanit. Crato, consil. 181. Scoltzii.

⁶ Molliter ac suaviter agger tractetur, nec ad ea adigatur quæ non curat. [⁷ Abruptly.]

kind of persons, be they never so averse from company, bashful, solitary, timorous, they may be made at last, with those *Roman* Matrons, to desire nothing more than, in a Publick Shew, to see a full company of Gladiators breathe out their last.

If they may not otherwise be accustomed to brook such distasteful and displeasing objects, the best way then is generally to avoid them. *Montanus, consil.* 229, to the Earl of *Montfort*, a Courtier, and his Melancholy Patient, adviseth him to leave the Court, by reason of those continual discontents, crosses, abuses,¹ *cares, suspicions, emulations, ambition, anger, jealousy, which that place afforded, and which surely caused him to be so melancholy at the first. Maxima quæque domus servis est plena superbis;*² a company of scoffers and proud Jacks are commonly conversant and attendant in such places, & able to make any man that is of a soft quiet disposition (as many times they do) *ex stulto insanum,*³ if once they humour him, a very Idiot, or stark mad. A thing too much practised in all common societies, and they have no better sport than to make themselves merry by abusing some silly fellow, or to take advantage of another man's weakness. In such cases as in a plague, the best remedy is *citò, longè, tardè*, (for to such a party, especially if he be apprehensive, there can be no greater misery), to get him quickly gone far enough off, and not to be over-hasty in his return. If he be so stupid, that he do not apprehend it, his friends should take some order, & by their discretion supply that which is wanting in him, as in all other cases they ought to do. If they see a man melancholy given, solitary, averse from company, please himself with such private and vain meditations, though he delight in it, they ought by all means to seek to divert him, to dehort him, to tell him of the event and danger that may come of it. If they see a man idle that, by reason of his means otherwise, will betake himself to no course of life, they ought seriously to admonish him he makes a noose to entangle himself, his want of employment will be his undoing. If he, have sustained any great loss, suffered a repulse, disgrace, &c. if it be possible, relieve him. If he desire ought, let him be satisfied; if in suspense, fear, suspicion, let him be secured: and, if it may conveniently be, give him his heart's content; for the body cannot be cured till the

¹ Ob suspiciones, curas, æmulationem, ambitionem, iras &c. quas locus ille ministrat, et quæ fecissent melancholicum. [² *Juv. v. 66.* Every great house is full of haughty slaves.] [³ From a fool mad.]

mind be satisfied. ¹*Socrates*, in *Plato*, would prescribe no Physick for *Charmides*' head-ache till first he had eased his troublesome mind ; body and soul must be cured together, as head and eyes.

²*Oculum non curabis sine toto capite,
Nec caput sine toto corpore,
Nec totum corpus sine anima.*

If that may not be hoped or expected, yet ease him with comfort, cheerful speeches, fair promises, and good words ; persuade him, advise him. Many, saith ³*Galen*, have been cured by good counsel and persuasion alone. Heaviness of the heart of man doth bring it down, but a good word rejoiceth it, *Prov.* 12, 25. And there is he that speaketh words like the pricking of a sword, but the tongue of a wise man is health, *Ver.* 18. *Oratio namque sancti animi est remedium*, a gentle speech is the true cure of a wounded soul, as ⁴*Plutarch* contends out of *Æschylus* and *Euripides* : if it be wisely administered, it easeth grief and pain, as divers remedies do many other diseases ; 'tis incantationis instar, a charm, æstuantis animi refrigerium, that true *Nepenthes* of *Homer*, which was no *Indian* plant or feigned medicine, which *Polydamna*, *Thon's* wife, sent *Helen* for a token,⁵ as *Macrobius* 7. *Saturnal.*, [cap. 1.] *Goropius*, *Hermat.*⁶ lib. 9. *Greg. Nazianzen*, and others, suppose, but opportunity of speech : for *Helen's* bowl, *Medea's* unction, *Venus's* Girdle, *Circe's* Cup, cannot so enchant, so forcibly move or alter, as it doth. A letter sent or read will do as much ; *multum allevor quum tuas literas lego*, I am much eased, as ⁷*Tully* writ to *Pomponius Atticus*, when I read thy letters ; and as *Julian* the *Apostate* once signified to *Maximus* the philosopher, ⁸as *Alexander* slept with *Homer's* works, so do I with thine *Epistles*, *tanquam Pæoniis medicamentis, easque assidue tanquam recentes et novas iteramus ; scribe ergo, et assidue scribe,*⁹ or else come thyself ; *amicus ad amicum venies.*¹⁰ Assuredly a wise and well spoken man may do what he will in such a case ; a good Orator alone, as ¹¹*Tully* holds, can alter affections by power of his

¹ Nisi prius animum turbatissimum curasset ; nec oculi sine capite, nec corpus sine animâ, curari potest. [*Charmides*, p. 156 E.] ² E Græco. [*Plato*, *Charm.* p. 156 E.] ³ Et nos non paucos sanavimus animi motibus ad debitum revocatis. lib. 1. de sanit. tuend. ⁴ Consol. ad Apollonium. [§ ii.] Si quis sapienter et suo tempore adhibeat, remedia morbis diversis diversa sunt ; dolentem sermo benignus subvelat. [⁵ *Hom.* *Od.* iv. 220—230.] • [⁶ *Hermathena* is the full title of the book.] ⁷ Lib. 12. *Epist.* [39.] [⁸ *Epistle* 15.] [⁹ As with healing drugs, and I continually read them over and over as new and fresh ; write therefore frequently.] [¹⁰ As a friend you will come to a friend.] ¹¹ *De Nat. Deorum* [ii. 59.]. Consolatur afflictos, deducit perterritos à timore ; cupiditates imprimis et iracundias comprimit.

eloquence, *comfort such as are afflicted, erect such as are depressed, expel and mitigate fear, lust, anger, &c.* And how powerful is the charm of a discreet and dear friend! *Ille regit dictis animos et temperat iras.*¹ What may not he effect? As ²*Chremes* told *Menedemus*, *Fear not, conceal it not, O friend, but tell me what it is that troubles thee, and I shall surely help thee by comfort, counsel, or in the matter itself.* ³*Arnoldus*, lib. 1. *breviar. cap.* 18, speaks of an Usurer in his time, that upon a loss, much melancholy and discontent, was so cured. As imagination, fear, grief, cause such passions, so conceits alone, rectified by good hope, counsel, &c. are able again to help: and 'tis incredible how much they can do in such a case, as ⁴*Trincavellius* illustrates by an example of a Patient of his. *Porphyrius*, the Philosopher, (in *Plotinus*' life, written by him), relates that, being in a discontented humour through unsufferable anguish of mind, he was going to make away himself: but meeting by chance his Master *Plotinus*, who, perceiving by his distracted looks all was not well, urged him to confess his grief: which when he had heard, he used such comfortable speeches, that he redeemed him *è faucibus Erebi*,⁵ pacified his unquiet mind, insomuch that he was easily reconciled to himself, and much abashed to think afterwards that he should ever entertain so vile a motion. By all means, therefore, fair promises, good words, gentle persuasions are to be used, not to be too rigorous at first, ⁶*or to insult over them, not to deride, neglect, or contemn, but rather, as Lemnius* exhorteth, *to pity, and by all plausible means to seek to reduce them*: but if satisfaction may not be had, mild courses, promises, comfortable speeches, and good counsel, will not take place; then, as *Christopherus à Vega* determines, lib. 3. *cap.* 14, *de Mel.* to handle them more roughly, to threaten and chide, saith ⁷*Allomarus*, terrify sometimes, or, as *Salvianus* will have them, to be lashed and whipped, as we do by a starting horse⁸ that is affrighted without a cause, or, as ⁹*Rhasis* adviseth, *one while to*

[¹ Virg. *Æn.* i. 153. quoted memoriter. He rules their angry passions with his words.] ² Heauton. Act. 1. Scen. 1. [33, 34.] Ne retice, ne verere, crede inquam mihi, Aut consolando, aut consilio, aut re juvero.

³ Novi foeneratorem avarum apud meos sic curatum, qui multam pecuniam amiserat. ⁴ Lib. 1. consil. 12. Incredibile dictu quantum juvent. [⁵ From the jaws of Erebus.]

⁶ Nemo istiusmodi conditionis hominibus insultet, aut in illos sit severior; verum miseriae potius indolescat, vicemque deprecet. lib. 2. cap. 16. ⁷ Cap. 7. Idem Piso Laurentius, cap. 8. ⁸ Quod timet nihil est, ubi cogitur et videt. ⁹ Una vice blandiantur, una vice iisdem terrorem incutiant.

speake fair and flatter, another while to terrify and chide, as they shall see cause.

When none of these precedent remedies will avail, it will not be amiss, which *Savanarola* and *Ælian Montaltus* so much commend, *clavum clavo pellere*,¹ *to drive out one passion with another, or by some contrary passion*, as they do bleeding at nose by letting blood in the arm, to expel one fear with another, one grief with another. ²*Christopherus à Vega* accounts it rational Physick, *non alienum à ratione*: and *Lemnius* much approves it, *to use an hard wedge to an hard knot*, to drive out one disease with another, to pull out a tooth, or wound him, to geld him, saith ³*Platerus*, as they did Epileptical Patients of old, because it quite alters the temperature, that the pain of the one may mitigate the grief of the other; ⁴*and I knew one that was so cured of a quartan ague, by the sudden coming of his enemies upon him.* If we may believe ⁵*Pliny*, whom *Scaliger* calls *mendaciorum patrem*, the father of lies, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, that renowned Consul of *Rome*, in a battle fought with the King of the *Allobroges* at the river *Isaurus*, was so rid of a quartan ague. *Valesius*, in his controversies, holds this an excellent remedy, and, if it be discreetly used in this malady, better than any Physick.

Sometimes again by some⁷ feigned lie, strange news, witty device, artificial invention, it is not amiss to deceive them. ⁸*As they hate those*, saith *Alexander*, *that neglect or deride, so they will give ear to such as will sooth them up. If they say they have swallowed frogs, or a snake, by all means grant it, and tell them you can easily cure it, 'tis an ordinary thing.* *Philodotus* the Physician cured a melancholy King, that thought his head was off, by putting a leaden cap thereon; the weight made him perceive it, and freed him of his fond imagination. A woman, in the said *Alexander*, swallowed a serpent as she thought; he gave her a vomit, and conveyed a serpent, such as she conceived, into the bason; upon the sight of

[1 See *Erasmi Adagia*, p. 70.] ² Si vero fuerit ex novo malo audito, vel ex agni accidente, aut de amissione mercium, aut morte amici, introducuntur nova contraria his, quæ ipsum ad gaudia moveant; de hoc semper niti debemus, &c. ³ Lib. 3. cap. 14. ⁴ Cap. 3. Castratio olim à veteribus usa in morbis desperatis, &c. ⁵ Lib. 1. cap. 5. Sic morbum morbo, ut clavum clavo, retundimus, et malo nodo malum cuneum adhibemus. ⁶ Novi ego qui ex subito hostium incursu et inopinato timore quartanam depulerat. ⁷ Lib. 7. cap. 50. In acie pugnans febre quartana liberatus est. ⁸ *Jacchinus*, c. 15. in 9. *Rhasis* Mont. cap. 26. ⁹ Lib. 1. cap. 16. Aversantur eos qui eorum affectus rident, contemnunt. Si ranas et viperas comedisse se putant, concedere debemus, et spem de cura facere.

it she was amended. The pleasantest dotage that ever I read, saith ¹*Laurentius*, was of a Gentleman at *Senes* in *Italy*, who was afraid to piss, lest all the Town should be drowned; the Physicians caused the bells to be rung backward, and told him the Town was on fire, whereupon he made water, and was immediately cured. Another supposed his nose so big that he should dash it against the wall if he stirred; his Physician took a great piece of flesh, and, holding it in his hand, pinched him by the nose, making him believe that flesh was cut from it. *Forestus*, *obs. lib. 1.*, had a melancholy Patient, who thought he was dead,² *he put a fellow in a chest, like a dead man, by his bed's side, and made him rear himself a little, and ent: the melancholy man asked the counterfeiter, whether dead men used to eat meat? he told him yea; whereupon he did eat likewise and was cured.* *Lemnius, lib. 2. cap. 6. de 4. complex.* hath many such instances, and *Jovianus Pontanus (lib. 4. cap. 2. of Wisd.)* of the like: but amongst the rest I find one most memorable, registered in the ³*French Chronicles*, of an Advocate of *Paris* before mentioned, who believed verily he was dead, &c. I read a multitude of examples of melancholy men cured by such artificial inventions.

SUBJECT. 3.—*Musick a remedy.*

MANY and sundry are the means which Philosophers and Physicians have prescribed to exhilarate a sorrowful heart, to divert those fixed and intent cares and meditations, which in this malady so much offend; but in my judgement none so present, none so powerful, none so apposite, as a cup of strong drink, mirth, musick, and merry company. *Eccles 40. 20, Wine and Musick rejoice the heart.* ⁴*Rhasis, cont. 9. Tract. 15, Altomarus cap. 7, Ælianus Montaltus, c. 26, Ficinus. Bened. Victor. Faventinus*, are almost immoderate in the commendation of it; a most forcible medicine ⁵*Jacchinus* calls it: *Jason Pratensis, a most admirable thing, and worthy of consideration, that can so mollify the mind, and stay those tempestuous affections of it. Musica est mentis medicina mæsta,* [music is] a roaring meg⁶ against Melancholy, to rear and revive the

¹ Cap. 8. de mel. ² Cistam posuit ex Medicorum consilio prope eum, in quem alium se mortuum fingentem posuit; hic in cista jacebat, &c. ³ Serres. 1550.

⁴ In 9. Rhasis. Magnam vim habet musica. ⁵ Cap. de Mania. Admiranda profecto res est, et digna expensione, quod sonorum concinnitas mentem emolliat, sistatque procellosas ipsius affectiones. ⁶ Perhaps we should print Roaring Meg. It was the name for a cannon. See the quotations in Nares's *Glossary*.

languishing soul, ¹ *affecting not only the ears, but the very arteries, the vital and animal spirits; it erects the mind, and makes it nimble. Lemnius instit. cap. 44.* This it will effect in the most dull, severe, and sorrowful souls, ² *expel grief with mirth, and if there be any clouds, dust, or dregs of cares yet lurking in our thoughts, most powerfully it wipes them all away, Sarisbur. polit. lib. 1. cap. 6.* and that which is more, it will perform all this in an instant: ³ *cheer up the countenance, expel austerity, bring in hilarity, (Girald. Camb. cap. 12. Topog. Hiber.) inform our manners, mitigate anger. Athæus (Deipnosophist. lib. 14. cap. 10.) calleth it an infinite treasure to such as are endowed with it. Dulcisonum reficit tristitia corda melos, Eobanus Hessus.* Many other properties ⁴ *Cassiodorus, epist. 4,* reckons up of this our divine Musick, not only to expel the greatest griefs, but *it doth extenuate fears and furies, appeaseth cruelty, abateth heaviness, and to such as are watchful it causeth quiet rest; it takes away spleen and hatred, be it instrumental, vocal, with strings, wind; quæ à spiritu, sine manuum dexteritate, gubernetur, &c.* it cures all irksomeness and heaviness of the soul. ⁵ *Labouring men, that sing to their work, can tell as much, and so can soldiers when they go to fight, whom terror of death cannot so much affright, as the sound of trumpet, drum, fife, and such like musick, animates; metus enim mortis, as Censorinus informeth us, musica depellitur.* ⁶ *It makes a child quiet, the nurse's song; and many times the sound of a trumpet on a sudden, bells ringing, a carman's whistle, a boy singing some Ballad tune early in the street, alters, revives, recreates, a restless patient that cannot sleep in the night, &c.* In a word, it is so powerful a thing that it ravisheth the soul, *Regina sensuum*, the Queen of the senses, by sweet pleasure (which is an happy cure); and corporal tunes pacify our incorporeal soul, *sine ore loquens, dominatum in animam exercet*, and carries it beyond itself, helps, elevates, extends it. *Scaliger, exercit. 302,* gives a reason for these effects,

¹ *Languens animus inde erigitur et reviviscit; nec tam aures afficit, sed et sonitu per arterias undique diffuso, spiritus tum vitales tum animales excitat, mentem reddens agilem, &c.* ² *Musica venustate sua mentes severiores capit, &c.*

³ *Animos tristes subito exhilarat, nubilos vultus serenat, austeritatem reponit, jucunditatem exponit, barbariemque facit deponere gentes, mores instituit, iracundiam mitigat.* [⁴ *Sweet melody repairs sad hearts.*] ⁵ *Cithara tristitiam*

jucundat, timidos furores attenuat, cruentam sævitiam blandè reficit, languorem, &c. ⁶ *Pet. Aretine.* ⁷ *Castilio, de Aulic. lib. 1. fol. 27.* ⁸ *Lib. de Natali, cap. 12.* [⁹ *The fear of death is driven away by music.*]

¹ *because the spirits about the heart take in that trembling and dancing air into the body, are moved together, and stirred up with it, or else the mind, as some suppose, harmonically composed, is roused up at the tunes of musick. And 'tis not only men that are so affected, but almost all other creatures. You know the Tales of Hercules, Gallus, Orpheus,² and Amphion,³ felices animas Ovid⁴ calls them, that could saxa movere sono testudinis, &c., make stocks and stones, as well as beasts, and other animals, dance after their pipes: the dog and hare, wolf and lamb; vicinunque lupo præbuit agna latus; clamosus graculus, stridula cornix et Jovis aquila,⁵ as Philostratus describes it in his Images,⁶ stood all gaping upon Orpheus; and ⁷ trees, pulled up by the roots, came to hear him, Et comitem quercum pinus amica trahit.⁸*

Arion made fishes follow him, which, as common experience evinceth,⁹ are much affected with musick.¹⁰ All singing birds are much pleased with it, especially Nightingales, if we may believe *Calcegninus*; and bees amongst the rest, though they be flying away, when they hear any tingling sound, will tarry behind. ¹¹ *Harts, Hinds, Horses, Dogs, Bears, are exceedingly delighted with it, Scal. exerc. 302. Elephants, Agrippa adds, lib. 2. cap. 24. and in Lydia in the midst of a lake there be certain floating Islands, (if ye will believe it), that alter musick will dance.*

But to leave all declamatory speeches in praise ¹² of divine Musick, I will confine myself to my proper subject: besides that excellent power it hath to expel many other diseases, it is a sovereign remedy against ¹³ Despair and Melancholy, and will drive away the Devil himself. *Canus, a Rhodian Fiddler in ¹⁴ Philostratus, when Apollonius was inquisitive to know what he could do with his pipe, told him, that he would make a melancholy man merry, and him that was merry much merrier than before, a lover more*

¹ Quod spiritus, qui in corde agitant, tremulum et subsaltantem recipiunt aerem in pectus, et inde excitantur, à spiritu musculi moventur, &c. [² Ovid, A. A. iii. 321; Hor. Odes, i. 12. 7-12.] [³ Hor. Odes, iii. 11. 2.] [⁴ Ovid, Fasti, i. 297.]

[⁵ The noisy jackdaw, the croaking crow, and Jupiter's eagle.] [⁶ Orpheus.]

[⁷ Arbores radicibus avulsæ, &c. [⁸ And the pine brought her friend the oak to hear him.] [⁹ M. Carew of Anthony, in Descript. Cornwall, saith of whales, that they will come and show themselves dancing at the sound of a trumpet, fol. 35. 1. et fol. 154. 2 book.] [¹⁰ Hyginus, Fab. 194.] [¹¹ De cervo, equo, cane, urso idem compertum; musica afficiuntur. [¹² Numen inest numeris. [¹³ Sæpe graves morbos modulatum carmen abegit, Et desperatis conciliavit opem. [¹⁴ Lib. 5. cap. 7. Mœrentibus mœrorem adimam, lætantem vero seipso reddam hilariorē, amantem calidiorem, religiosum divino numine [magis] correptum, et ad Deos p̄olendos paratiorem.]

enamoured, a religious man more devout. *Ismenias* the Theban, ¹ *Chiron* the Centaur, is said to have cured this and many other diseases by Musick alone: as now they do those, saith ² *Bodine*, that are troubled with S. *Vitus'* Bedlam dance. ³ *Timotheus*, the Musician, compelled *Alexander* to skip up and down, and leave his dinner, (like the tale of the Friar and the Boy), whom *Austin*, *de Civ. Dei* lib. 17. cap. 14, so much commends for it. Who hath not heard how *David's* harmony drove away the evil Spirits from King *Saul*, 1 Sam. 16; and *Elisha*, when he was much troubled by importunate Kings, called for a Minstrel, and, when he played, the hand of the Lord came upon him, 2 King. 3. *Censorinus*, *de natali*, cap. 12, reports how *Asclepiades* the Physician helped many frantick persons by this means, *phreneticorum mentes morbo turbatas*. *Jason Pratensis*, cap. de *Mania*, hath many examples, how *Clinias* and *Empedocles* cured some desperately melancholy, and some mad, by this our Musick: which, because it hath such excellent virtues, belike ⁴ *Homer* brings in *Phemius* playing, and the *Muses* singing, at the Banquet of the Gods. *Aristotle*, *Polit.* l. 8. c. 5, *Plato*, 2. *de Legibus*, highly approve of it, and so do all Politicians. The *Greeks*, *Romans*, have graced Musick, and made it one of the liberal sciences, though it be now become mercenary. All civil Common-wealths allow it: *Cneius Manlius*, (as ⁵ *Livy* relates), *A^o ab urb. cond.* 567, brought first out of *Asia* to *Rome* singing wenches, players, jesters, and all kind of Musick to their feasts. Your Princes, Emperors, and persons of any quality maintain it in their Courts; no mirth without Musick. *S^r Thomas More*, in his absolute *Utopian* Common-wealth, ⁶ allows Musick as an appendix to every meal, and that throughout, to all sorts. *Epictetus* calls *mensam mutam præsepe*, a table without musick a manger; for the consent of Musicians at a banquet is a carbuncle set in gold; and as the signet of an Emerald well trimmed with gold, so is the melody of Musick in a pleasant banquet, *Ecclus.* 32. v. 5, 6. ⁷ *Lewis* the Eleventh, when he invited *Edward* the Fourth to come to *Paris*, told him that, as a principal part of his entertainment, he should hear sweet voices of children, *Ionick* and *Lydian* tunes,

¹ Natalis Comes, *Myth.* lib. 4. cap. 12. ² Lib. 5. de rep. Curat musica furorem Sancti Viti. ³ Exilire & convivio, *Cardan*, subtil. lib. 13. ⁴ *Iliad*, i.

[604.] ⁵ Libro 9. cap. 1. *Psaltrias*, *sambucistrasque*, et *convivialia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis*, ex *Asia* invexit in urbem. [⁶ *Utopia*, Book ii.]

⁷ *Commines*. [Book iv. ch. x.]

exquisite Musick, he should have a——and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be his Confessor, which he used as a most plausible argument, as to a sensual man indeed it is. ¹*Lucian*, in his book *De Saltatione*, is not ashamed to confess that he took infinite delight in singing, dancing, musick, women's company, and such like pleasures; and if thou (saith he) *didst but hear them play and dance, I know thou wouldst be so well pleased with the object, that thou wouldst dance for company thyself, without doubt thou wilt be taken with it.* So *Scaliger* ingenuously confesseth, *exercit.* 274. ²*I am beyond all measure affected with musick, I do most willingly behold them dance, I am mightily detained and allured with that grace and comeliness of fair women, I am well pleased to be idle amongst them.* And what young man is not? As it is acceptable and conducing to most, so especially to a melancholy man; provided always, his disease proceed not originally from it, that he be not some light *Inamorato*, some idle phantastick, who capers in conceit all the day long, and thinks of nothing else but how to make Jigs, Sonnets, Madrigals, in commendation of his Mistress. In such cases Musick is most pernicious, as a spur to a free horse will make him run himself blind, or break his wind; *incitamentum enim amoris musica*, for Musick enchants, as *Menander* holds, it will make such melancholy persons mad, and the sound of those Jigs and Horn-pipes will not be removed out of the ears a week after. ³*Plato* for this reason forbids Musick and wine to all young men, because they are most part amorous, *ne ignis addatur igni*,⁴ lest one fire increase another. Many men are melancholy by hearing Musick, but it is a pleasing melancholy that it causeth; and therefore to such as are discontent, in woe, fear, sorrow, or dejected, it is a most present remedy; it expels cares, alters their grieved minds, and easeth in an instant. Otherwise, saith ⁵*Plutarch*, *musica magis dementat quàm vinum*; musick makes some men mad as a tiger; like *Astolpho's* horn in *Ariosto*,⁶ or *Mercury's* golden wand in *Homer*,⁷ that made some wake, others sleep, it hath divers effects: and ⁸*Theophrastus*⁹ right well

¹ *Ista libenter et magnâ cum voluptate spectare soleo. Et scio te illecebris hisce captum iri, et insuper tripudiatum; haud dubiè demulcebere. [§ 85.]* ² In musicis supra omnem fidem capior et oblector; choreas libentissimè aspicio; pulchrarum feminarum venustate detineor; otiari inter has solutus curis possum.
³ *De legibus.* [pp. 671, 674.] ⁴ *Plutarch's Conjugal Precepts, § 40.*
⁵ *Sympos. quæst. 5. Musica multos magis dementat quam vinum.* [⁶ *Orlando Furioso, Book xx.*] [⁷ See *Odyssey*, 24. 2-4.] [⁸ *Animi morbi vel à musica curantur vel inferuntur.* [⁹ *Frag. 87, 88. (ed. Didot.)*]

prophesied that diseases were either procured by Musick or mitigated.

SUBJECT. 4.—*Mirth and merry company, fair objects, remedies.*

MIRTH and merry company may not be separated from Musick, both concerning and necessarily required in this business. Mirth (saith ¹*Vives*) *purgeth the blood, confirms health, causeth a fresh, pleasing, and fine colour*, prorogues life, whets the wit, makes the body young, lively, and fit for any manner of employment. 'The merrier heart, the longer life ; *a merry heart is the life of the flesh*, Prov. 14. 30. *Gladness prolongs his days*, Ecclus. 30. 22. and this is one of the three *Salernitan* Doctors, Dr *Merryman*, Dr *Diet*, Dr *Quiet*,² which cures all diseases—*Mens hilaris, requies, moderata diæta.*³ ⁴*Gomesius, præfat. lib. 3. de sal. gen.* is a great magnifier of honest mirth, by which (saith he) *we cure many passions of the mind in ourselves and in our friends* : which ⁵*Galateus* assigns for a cause why we love merry companions : and well they deserve it, being that, as ⁶*Magninus* holds, a merry companion is better than any musick, and, as the saying is, *comes jucundus in viâ pro vehiculo*,⁷ [a pleasant companion is] as a waggon to him that is wearied on the way. *Jucunda confabulatio, sales, joci*, pleasant discourse, jests, conceits, merry tales, *mentis verborum globuli*, as *Petronius*, [c. 1.] ⁸*Pliny*, ⁹*Spondanus*, ¹⁰*Cælius*, and many good Authors plead, are that sole *Nepenthes* of *Homer*, *Helen's* bowl, ¹¹*Venus'* girdle, so renowned of old ¹²to expel grief and care, to cause mirth and gladness of heart, if they be rightly understood, or seasonably applied. In a word,

¹³Amor, voluptas, Venus, [Venustas,] gaudium,
Jocus, ludus, sermo suavis, suaviatio,
[Love, pleasure, Venus, graces, joy, and merriment,
Kisses and pleasant conversation, those]

are the true *Nepenthes*. For these causes our Physicians gene-

¹ Lib. 3. de animâ. Lætitiâ purgat sanguinem, valetudinem conservat, colorem inducit florentem, nitidum, gratum. ² Spiritus temperat, calorem excitat, naturalem virtutem corroborat, juvenile corpus diu servat, vitam prorogat, ingenium nutrit, et hominem negotiis quibuslibet aptiorem reddit. Schola Salern. [³ Regimen Sanitatis Salerni.] ⁴ Dum contumeliâ vacant, et festiva lenitate mordent, mediocres animi ægritudines sanari solent, &c. ⁵ De mor. fol. 57. Amamus ideo eos qui sunt faceti et jucundi. ⁶ Regim. Sanit. part. 2. Nota quod amicus bonus et dilectus socius navrationibus suis jucundis superat omnem melodiam. [⁷ Publius Syrus.] ⁸ Lib. 21. cap. 27. ⁹ Comment. in 4. Odys. [221.] [¹⁰ Lib. 26. c. 15. [¹¹ Hom. Odys. iv. 220—230.] ¹² Homericum illud Nepenthes, quod mœrorem tollit, et euthymiam et hilaritatem parit. ¹³ Plaut. Bacch. [i. iii. 7, 8.]

rally prescribe this, as a principal engine¹ to batter the walls of melancholy, a chief antidote, and a sufficient cure of itself. *By all means* (saith ¹ *Mesue*) *procure mirth to these men in such things as are heard, seen, tasted, or smelled, or any way perceived, and let them have all enticements, and fair promises, the sight of excellent beauties, attires, ornaments, delightful passages, to distract their minds from fear and sorrow, and such things on which they are so fixed and intent.* ² *Let them use hunting, sports, plays, jests, merry company, as Rhasis prescribes, which will not let the mind be molested, a cup of good drink now and then, hear musick, and have such companions with whom they are especially delighted ;* ³ *merry tales or toys, drinking, singing, dancing, and whatsoever else may procure mirth :* and by no means, saith *Guianerius*, suffer them to be alone. *Benedictus Victorius Faventinus*, in his *Empiricks*, accounts it an especial remedy against melancholy ⁴ *to hear and see singing, dancing, maskers, mummers, to converse with such merry fellows, and fair maids.* *For the beauty of a woman cheereth the countenance,* *Ecclus.* 36. 22. ⁵ *Beauty alone is a sovereign remedy against fear, grief, and all melancholy fits ; a charm, as Peter de la Seine and many other writers affirm, a banquet itself ; he gives instance in discontented Menelaus that was so often freed by Helen's fair face : and* ⁶ *Tully, 3. Tusc. [cap. xviii. sq.] cites Epicurus as a chief patron of this tenent. To expel grief, and procure pleasance, sweet smells, good diet, touch, taste, embracing, singing, dancing, sports, plays, and, above the rest, exquisite beauties, quibus oculi jucundè moventur et animi, are most powerful means, obvia forma, to meet, or see a fair maid pass by, or to be in company with her. He found it by experience, and made good use of it in his own person, if Plutarch bely him not ;* ⁷ *for he reckons up the names of some more elegant pieces,* ⁸ *Leontium, Boedina, Hedeia, Nicidium,*

¹ De ægritud. capitis. Omni modo generet lætitiā in iis, de iis quæ audiuntur et videntur, aut odorantur, aut gustantur, aut quocunque modo sentiri possunt, et aspectu formarum multi decoris et ornatus, et negotiatione jucundā, et blanditiis ludis, et promissis distraherentur eorum animi de re aliqua quam timent et dolent.

² Utantur venationibus, ludis, jocis, amicorum consortiis, quæ non sinunt animum turbari, vino, et cantu, et loci mutatione, et biberia, et gaudiis quibus præcipue delectantur.

³ Piso. Ex fabulis et ludis quærenda delectatio. His versetur qui maximè grati sunt ; cantus et chorea ad lætitiā prosunt.

⁴ Præcipue valet ad expellendam melancholiam stare in cantibus, ludis, et sonis, et habitare cum familiaribus, et præcipue cum puellis jucundis.

⁵ Par. 5. de avocamentis, lib. de absolvendo luctu. ⁶ Corporum complexus, cantus, ludi, formæ, &c.

⁷ See Plutarch, *Whether "five unknown" be a wise precept.* § iv.]

⁸ Circa hortos Epicuri frequentes.

that were frequently seen in *Epicurus'* garden, and very familiar in his house.¹ Neither did he try it himself alone, but if we may give credit to ²*Athenæus*, he practised it upon others. For when a sad and sick Patient was brought unto him to be cured, *he laid him on a down-bed, crowned him with a garland of sweet-smelling flowers, in a fair perfumed closet delicately set out, and, after a potion or two of good drink, which he administered, he brought in a beautiful young wench that could play upon a Lute, sing and dance, &c.* Tully 3. *Tusc.* [cap. 18 sq.] scoffs at *Epicurus* for this his profane physick (as well he deserved) and yet *Favorinus* and *Stobæus* highly approve of it. Most of our looser Physicians in some cases, to such parties especially, allow of this, and all of them will have a melancholy, sad, and discontented person, make frequent use of honest sports, companies, and recreations, *et incitandos ad Venerem*, as ⁴*Rodericus à Fonseca* will, *aspectu et contactu pulcherrimarum feminarum*, to be drawn to such consorts, whether they will or no. Not to be an auditor only, or a spectator, but sometimes an actor himself. *Dulce est desipere in loco*,⁵ to play the fool now and then is not amiss, there is a time for all things. Grave *Socrates* would be merry by fits, sing, dance, and take his liquor too, or else *Theodore* belies him: so would old *Cato*,⁶ ⁷*Tully* by his own confession, and the rest. *Xenophon*, in his *Sympos.* brings in *Socrates* as a principal Actor, no man merrier than himself, and sometimes he would ⁸*ride a cock-horse with his children*,

——⁹ *equitare in arundine longa*,

(though *Alcibiades* scoffed at him for it), and well he might; for now and then (saith *Plutarch*) the most virtuous, honest, and gravest men will use feasts, jests, and toys, as we do sauce to our meats. So did *Scipio* and *Lælius*.

¹⁰ Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secretis remorant
Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Læli,
Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti——

[1] See *Diogenes Laërtius*, Lib. x. cap. 3. He does not mention *Boedina*, but he mentions the others in the text, and adds *Marmarium*.] ² *Deipnosoph.* lib. 10. Coronavit florido serito incendens odores, in culcita plumea collocavit, dulciculum potionem propinans, psalterium adduxit, &c. ³ Ut reclinata suaviter in lectum puella, &c. ⁴ *Tom. 2. consult.* 85. ⁵ *Hor. Odes*, iv. 12. 28.] ⁶ *Hor. Odes*, iii. 21. 11, 12.] ⁷ *Epist. Fam. lib. 7. 22. epist.* Heri domum, bene potus, seroque redieram. ⁸ *Valer. Max.* cap. 8. lib. 8. Interposita arundine cruribus suis, cum filiis ludens, ab Alcibiade risus est. ⁹ *Hor. Sat.* ii. iii. 248.] ¹⁰ *Hor.* [Sat. ii. i. 71-74.]

Valorous Scipio and gentle Lælius,
 Removed from the scene and rout so clamorous,
 Were wont to recreate themselves, their robes laid by,
 Whilst supper by the cook was making ready.

Machiavel, in the 8th Book of his *Florentine History*, gives this note of *Cosmo de Medici*, the wisest and gravest man of his time in *Italy*, that he would¹ now and then play the most egregious fool in his carriage, and was so much given to jesters, players, and childish sports, to make himself merry, that he that should but consider his gravity on the one part, his folly and lightness on the other, would surely say, there were two distinct persons in him. Now methinks he did well in it, though ²*Sarisburiensis* be of opinion that Magistrates, Senators, & grave men, should not descend to lighter sports, *ne respub. ludere videatur*:³ but, as *Themistocles*, still keep a stern and constant carriage. I commend *Cosmo de Medici*, and *Castrucius Castrucanus*, than whom *Italy* never knew a worthier Captain, another *Alexander*, if ⁴*Machiavel* do not deceive us in his life: when a friend of his reprehended him for dancing beside his dignity (belike at some cushion dance) he told him again, *qui sapit interdum vix unquam noctu desipit*, he that is wise in the day may dote a little in the night. *Paulus Jovius* relates as much of Pope *Leo Decimus*, that he was a grave discreet staid man, yet sometimes most free, and too open in his sports. And 'tis not altogether⁵ unfit or mis-beseeming the gravity of such a man, if that *decorum* of time, place, and such circumstances, be observed. ⁶*Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem*; and, as⁷ he said in an Epigram to his wife, I would have every man say to himself, or to his friend,

Moll, once in pleasant company by chance
 I wished that you for company would dance:
 Which you refused, and said, your years require,
 Now, matron-like, both manners and attire.
 Well, Moll, if needs you will be matron-like,
 Then trust to this, I will thee matron like:
 Yet so to you my love may never lessen,
 As you for church, house, bed, observe this lesson.

¹ *Hominibus facietis, et ludis puerilibus ultra modum deditus, adeo ut si quid tam gravitatem quam levitatem considerare liceret, duas personas distinctas in eo esse diceret.* ² De nugis curial. lib. 1. cap. 4. Magistratus et viri graves à ludis levioribus arcendi.

³ Lest the state should seem to be a trifle. ⁴ *Machiavel*, vita ejus, Ab amico reprehensus, quod præter dignitatem tripudiis operam daret, respondet, &c. ⁵ There is a time for all things, to weep, laugh, mourn, dance, Eccles. iii. 4. ⁶ Hor. [Odes. iv. 12. 27. Mix mirth and business.]

⁷ Sir John Harington, Epigr. [ivth Book. Ep. 45.]

Sit in the church as solemn as a saint,
 No deed, word, thought, your due devotion taint.
 Veil, if you will, your head, your soul reveal
 To him that only wounded souls can heal :
 Be in my house as busy as a bee,
 Having a sting for every one but me ;
 Buzzing in every corner, gath'ring honey :
 Let nothing waste that costs or yieldeth money.
¹And when thou seest my heart to mirth incline,
 Thy tongue, wit, blood, warm with good cheer and wine :
 Then of sweet sports let no occasion 'scape,
 But be as wanton, toying, as an ape.

Those old ²*Greeks* had their *Deam Libentiam*, ³Goddess of *Pleasance*, and the *Lacedamonians*, instructed from *Lycurgus*, did *Deo Risui sacrificare*, ⁴after their wars especially, and in times of peace, which was used in *Thessaly*, as it appears by that of ⁵*Apuleius*, who was made an instrument of their laughter himself : ⁶*because laughter and merriment was to season their labours and modester life*. ⁷*Risus enim divinum atque hominum est æterna voluptas*. Princes use jesters, players, and have those masters of revels in their Courts. The *Romans* at every supper (for they had no solemn dinner) used Musick, Gladiators, Jesters, &c. as ⁸*Suetonius* relates of *Tiberius*, *Dion of Commodus*, and so did the *Greeks*. Besides Musick, in *Xenophon's Sympos.* [cap. 1.] *Philippus, ridendi artifex*, *Philip*, a Jester, was brought to make sport. *Paulus Jovius*, in the Eleventh Book of his History, hath a pretty digression of our English customs, which, howsoever some may misconster, I, for my part, will interpret to the best. ⁹*The whole nation beyond all other mortal men is most given to banquetting and feasts ; for they prolong them many hours together, with dainty cheer, exquisite Musick, and facete jesters, and afterwards they fall a dancing and courting their mistresses, till it be late in the night*. *Volaterran* gives the same testimony of this Island, commending our Jovial manner of entertainment, and good mirth, and methinks he saith well, there is no harm in it, long may they use it, and all such modest sports ! *Ctesias* reports of a *Persian king*, that had 150 maids attending at his table, to play,

¹ *Lucretia toto sis licet usque die, Laida nocte volo.* [Martial, xi. 104. 21, 22. Burton reads Thaida.] ² *Lil. Giraldu, Hist. Deor. Syntag. 1.* [³ *Plaut. Asin. ii. ii. 2.*] [⁴ Sacrifice to the God of Laughter.] [⁵ *Metamorph. iii. 50, memoriter.*] ⁶ *Eo quod risus esset laboris et modesti victus condimentum.* [⁷ *Calcag. epig.* ⁸ *Cap. 61. In deliciis habuit scurras et adulatores.* ⁹ *Universa gens supra mortales cæteros conviviorum studiosissima. Ea enim per varias et exquisitas dapes, interpositis musicis et jocularibus, in multas sæpius horas extrahunt, ac subinde productis, choreis et amoribus feminarum indulgent, &c.*

sing, and dance by turns; and ¹*Lil. Geraldus* of an *Egyptian* Prince, that kept nine Virgins still to wait upon him, and those of the most excellent feature, and sweet voices, which afterwards gave occasion to the *Greeks* of that fiction of the nine Muses. The King of *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, most of our *Asiatick* Princes have done so and do; those *Sophies*, *Mogors*, *Turks*, &c. solace themselves after supper amongst their Queens and Concubines, *quæ, jucundioris oblectamenti causa*, (²saith mine author), *coram rege psallere et saltare consueverant*, taking great pleasure to see and hear them sing and dance. This and many such means, to exhilarate the heart of men, have still been practised in all ages, as knowing there is no better thing to the preservation of man's life. What shall I say then, but to every melancholy man,

³Utere convivis, non tristibus utere amicis,
Quos nugæ et risus et joca salsa juvant.
Feast often, and use friends not still so sad,
Whose jests and merriments may make thee glad.

Use honest and chaste sports, scenical shews, plays, games;

⁴Accedant juvenumque Chori, mistæque puellæ.
[Let bands of youths and girls together dance!]

And, as *Marsilius Ficinus* concludes an Epistle to *Bernard Canisianus* and some other of his friends, will I this Tract to all good Students, ⁵*Live merrily, O my friends, free from cares, perplexity, anguish, grief of mind, live merrily, lætitiæ cœlum vos creavit*: ⁶*'again and again I request you to be merry; if any thing trouble your hearts, or vex your souls, neglect and condemn it, let it pass.'* And this I enjoin you, not as a Divine alone, but as a Physician, for without this mirth, which is the life and quintessence of Physick, medicines, and whatsoever is used and applied to prolong the life of man, is dull, dead, and of no force. *Dum fata sinunt, vivite læti* (*Seneca*¹⁰). I say, be merry [while the Fates allow.]

¹ Syntag. de Musis. ² Athenæus, lib. 12. et 14. Assiduus mulierum vocis cantuque symphoniarum Palatium Persarum Regis totum personabat. Jovius, Hist. lib. 18. ³ Eobanus Hessus. ⁴ Fracastorius. ⁵ Vivite ergo læti, O amici, procul ab angustia, vivite læti. [Heaven created you for mirth.] ⁶ Iterum precor et obtestor, vivite læti: illud quod cor urit, negligite. ⁷ Lætus in præsens animus quod ultra Oderit curare. Hor. [Odes, li. 16. 25, 26.] He was both Sacerdos et Medicus. ⁸ Hæc autem non tam ut sacerdos, amici, mando vobis, quam ut medicus; nam absque hac una tanquam medicinarum vita, medicinæ omnes ad vitam producendam adhibitæ moriuntur: vivite læti. [¹⁰ Herc. Fur. 177.]

¹ Nec lusibus virentem
Viduemus hanc juvenam.

It was *Tiresias* the Prophet's counsel to ²*Menippus*, that travelled all the world over, even down to Hell itself, to seek content, and his last farewell to *Menippus*, to be merry. ³*Contemn the world* (saith he) *and count that is in it vanity and toys, this only covet as thy life long; be not curious, or over-solicitous, in any thing, but with a well composed and contented estate to enjoy thyself, and above all things to be merry.*

Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque.⁴

[If, as Mimnermus thinks, *sans* love and fun
Life's not worth living, live for love and fun.]

Nothing better, (to conclude with *Solomon*, Eccles. 3. 22,) *than that a man should rejoice in his affairs.* 'Tis the same advice which every Physician in this case rings to his Patient, as *Capivaccius* to his; ⁵*avoid over-much study and perturbations of the mind, and, as much as in thee lies, live at heart's ease: Prosper Calenus* to that melancholy Cardinal *Cæsius*,⁶ *amidst thy serious studies and business, use jests and conceits, plays and toys, and whatsoever else may recreate thy mind.* Nothing better than mirth and merry company in this malady. ⁷*It begins with sorrow, (saith Montanus,) it must be expelled with hilarity.*

But see the mischief; many men, knowing that merry company is the only medicine against Melancholy, will therefore neglect their business, and, in another extreme, spend all their days among good fellows in a Tavern or an Ale-house, and know not otherwise how to bestow their time but in drinking; malt-worms, men-fishes, or water-snakes, ⁸*qui bibunt solum ranarum more, nihil comedentes*, like so many frogs in a puddle. 'Tis their sole exercise to eat and drink; to sacrifice to *Volupia, Rumina, Edulica, Potina, Mellona*, is all their religion. They wish for *Philoxenus'* neck,⁹

¹ *Æocheus. Anacreon.* ² *Lucian. Nocyomantia. [§ 21.]* ³ *Omnia mundana nugas æstima. Hoc solum tota vita persequere, ut præsentibus bene compositis, minime curiosus, aut ulla in re sollicitus, quam plurimum potes vitam hilarem traducas. [Do. § 21.]* ⁴ *Hor. Epp. i. vi. 65, 66.]* ⁵ *Hildesheim, spicil. 2. de Mania, fol. 161. Studia literarum et animi perturbationes fugiat, et quantum potest jucunde vivat.* ⁶ *Lib. de atra bile. Gravioribus curis ludas et facetias aliquando interpone, jocus, et quæ solent animum relaxare.* ⁷ *Consil. 30. mala valetudo aucta et contracta æstistia ac propterea exhilaratione animi removenda.* ⁸ *Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 6. [c. 9.]* ⁹ *Ar. Eth. iii. x. 10.]*

Jupiter's trinoctium,¹ and that the Sun would stand still as in *Joshua's* time, to satisfy their lust, that they might *dies noctesque pergræcari & bibere*.² Flourishing wits, and men of good parts, good fashion, and good worth, basely prostitute themselves to every rogue's company, to take tobacco and drink, to roar and sing scurrile songs in base places.

¹ *Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis.*

Which *Thomas Erastus* objects to *Paracelsus*, that he would lie drinking all day long with Car-men and Tapsters in a Brothel-house, is too frequent amongst us, with men of better note: like *Timocreon of Rhodes*,³ *multa bibens, & multa vorans, &c.* They drown their wits, seethe their brains, in Ale, consume their fortunes, lose their time, weaken their temperatures, contract filthy diseases, rheums, dropsies, calentures, tremor, get swollen jugulars, pimpled red faces, sore eyes, &c. heat their livers, alter their complexions, spoil their stomachs, overthrow their bodies; for drink drowns more than the Sea and ail the rivers that fall into it, (mere Funges and Casks) confound their souls, suppress reason, go from *Scylla* to *Charybdis*, and use that which is an help to their undoing.

² *Quid refert morbo an ferro pereamve ruinâ?*

*When the Black Prince went to set the exil'd king of *Castile* into his kingdom, there was a terrible battle fought betwixt the *English* and the *Spanish*: at last the *Spanish* fled, the *English* followed them to the river side, *where some drowned themselves to avoid their enemies, the rest were killed.* Now tell me what difference is between drowning and killing? As good be melancholy still, as drunken beasts and beggars. Company, a sole comfort, and an only remedy to all kind of discontent, is their sole misery and cause of perdition. As *Hermione* lamented in *Euripides*,⁷ *malæ mulieres me fecerunt malam*, evil company marr'd her, may they justly complain, bad companions have been their bane. For, *malus*

[¹ That is, the three continuous nights on which Jupiter begat Hercules on Alcmena.] [² Plautus, *Mostellaria*, i. i. 21, night and day play the merry Greeks and drink.] [³ Juven. sat. 8. [173, 174. You will find him beside some cut-throat, with sailors, or thieves, or runaways.] [⁴ Athenæus, Lib. x. p. 415 F.] [⁵ Hor.

[Sat. ii. 3. 157, quoted memoriter. What does it signify whether I perish by disease or by the sword?]

[⁶ Froissart, hist. lib. x. Hispani cum Anglorum vires ferre non possent, in fugam se dederunt, &c. Præcipites in fluvium se dederunt, ne in hostium manus venirent. [⁷ *Andromache*, 930.] [⁸ Plautus, *Trinummus*, ii. ii. 8.]

[*bonum*] *malum* [*esse*] *vult, ut sit sui similis*, one drunkard in a company, one thief, one whoremaster, will by his good will, make all the rest as bad as himself;

—————¹ Et si
Nocturnos jures te formidare vapores,

be of what complexion you will, inclination, love or hate, be it good or bad, if you come amongst them, you must do as they do; yea, though it be to the prejudice of your health, you must drink *venenum pro vino*.³ And so, like Grass-hoppers, whilst they sing over their cups all Summer, they starve in Winter; and for a little vain merriment shall find a sorrowful reckoning in the end.

SECT. III.—MEMB. I.

SUBJECT. I.—*A Consolatory Digression containing the Remedies of all manner of Discontents.*

BECAUSE, in the precedent Section, I have made mention of good counsel, comfortable speeches, persuasion, how necessarily they are required to the cure of a discontented or troubled mind, how present a remedy they yield, and many times a sole sufficient cure of themselves; I have thought fit, in this following Section, a little to digress, (if at least it be to digress in this subject), to collect and glean a few remedies, and comfortable speeches out of our best Orators, Philosophers, Divines, and Fathers of the Church, tending to this purpose. I confess, many have copiously written of this subject, *Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Xenophon, Epictetus, Theophrastus, Xenocrates, Crantor, Lucian, Boethius*: and some of late, *Sadoletus, Cardan, Budeus, Stella, Petrarch, Erasmus*, besides *Austin, Cyprian, Bernard, &c.* and they so well, that, as *Hierome* in like case said, *si nostrum areret ingenium, de illorum posset fontibus irrigari*, if our barren wits were dried up, they might be copiously irrigated from those well-springs: and I shall but *actum agere*;⁴ yet, because these Tracts are not so obvious and common, I will epitomize, and briefly insert some of their divine

¹ Hor. [Epp. l. 18. 93. Although you swear that you dread the night air.]

² ἢ πίνει ἢ ἀπίνει, [either drink or depart. See Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 41. § 118.]

³ Poison for wine.] [⁴ See *Erasmii Adagia*, p. 173, do again what has been done.]

precepts, reducing their voluminous and vast Treatises to my small scale; for it were otherwise impossible to bring so great vessels into so little a creek. And although (as *Cardan* said of his book *de consol.*) ¹ *I know beforehand, this tract of mine many will condemn and reject; they that are fortunate, happy, and in flourishing estate, have no need of such consolatory speeches; they that are miserable and unhappy, think them unsufficient to ease their grieved minds, and comfort their misery:* yet I will go on; for this must needs do some good to such as are happy to bring them to a moderation, and make them reflect and know themselves, by seeing the unconstancy of human felicity, others' misery, and to such as are distressed, if they will but attend and consider of this, it cannot choose but give some content and comfort. ² *'Tis true, no medicine can cure all diseases; some affections of the mind are altogether incurable; yet these helps of Art, Physick, and Philosophy, must not be contemned.* *Arrianus* and *Plotinus* are stiff in the contrary opinion, that such precepts can do little good. *Boethius* himself cannot comfort in some cases, they will reject such speeches like bread of stones, *Insana stultæ mentis hæc solatia.*³

Words add no courage, (which ⁴ *Catiline* once said to his soldiers) *a Captain's Oration doth not make a coward a valiant man:* and, as *Job* ⁵ feelingly said to his friends, *you are but miserable comforters all.* 'Tis to no purpose, in that vulgar phrase, to use a company of obsolete sentences, and familiar sayings: as ⁶ *Plinius Secundus*, being now sorrowful and heavy for the departure of his dear friend, *Cornelius Rufus*, a Roman Senator, wrote to his fellow *Tiro* in like case, *adhibe solatia, sed nova aliqua, sed fortia, quæ audierim nunquam, legerim nunquam: nam quæ audivi, quæ legi, omnia tanto dolore superantur,* either say something that I never read nor heard of before, or else hold thy peace. Most men will here except trivial consolations, ordinary speeches, and known persuasions in this behalf will be of small force; what can any man

¹ Lib. de libris propriis. flos libros scio multos spernere, nam felices his non indigere putant, infelices ad solationem miseriæ non sufficere. Et tamen felicibus moderationem, dum inconstantiam humanæ felicitatis docent, præstant; infelices si omnia rectè æstimare velint, felices reddere possunt. ² Nullum medicamentum omnes sanare potest; sunt affectus animi qui prorsus sunt insanabiles; non tamen artis opus sperni debet, aut medicinæ, aut philosophiæ. [³ These are the insane consolations of a foolish mind.] ⁴ Sallust. [*Catilinæ conjuratio*, cap. 58, memoriter.] Verba virtutem non addunt, nec imperatoris oratio facile [ex] timido fortem. ⁵ Job cap. 16. [2.] ⁶ Epist. 13. lib. 1.

say that hath not been said? To what end are such parænetical discourses? You may as soon remove mount *Caucasus* as alter some men's affections. Yet sure I think they cannot choose but do some good, comfort and ease a little: though it be the same again, I will say it, and upon that hope I will adventure. ¹*Non meus hic sermo*, 'tis not my speech this, but of *Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Austin, Bernard, Christ, and His Apostles*. If I make nothing, as ²*Montaigne* said in like case, I will mar nothing; 'tis not my doctrine but by study, I hope I shall do no body wrong to speak what I think, and deserve not blame in imparting my mind. If it be not for thy ease, it may for mine own; so *Tully, Cardan*, and *Boethius* wrote *de consol.* as well to help themselves as others. Be it as it may, I will essay.

Discontents and grievances are either general or particular; general are wars, plagues, dearths, famine, fires, inundations, unseasonable weather, epidemical diseases, which afflict whole Kingdoms, Territories, Cities: or peculiar to private men, as cares, crosses, losses, death of friends, poverty, want, sickness, orbities, injuries, abuses, &c. generally all discontent, ⁴*homines quatinus fortunæ salo*: no condition free; *quisque suos patimur manes*.⁵ Even in the midst of our mirth and jollity, there is some grudging, some complaint; as ⁶he saith, our whole life is a *glucupicron*, a bitter sweet passion, honey and gall mixt together, we are all miserable and discontent; who can deny it? If all, and that it be a common calamity, an inevitable necessity, all distressed, then as *Cardan* infers, ⁷*who art thou that hopest to go free? Why dost thou not grieve thou art a mortal man, and not governor of the world?* Ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes, Nemo recuset!⁸ ⁹*If it be common to all, why should one man be more disquieted than another?* If thou alone wert distressed, it were indeed more irksome, and less to be endured; but, when the calamity is common, comfort

¹ Hor. [Sat. ii. li. 2.] ² Lib. 2. Essays, cap. 6. ³ Alium paupertas, alium timor, hunc morbi, illum timor, alium injuriæ, hunc insidiæ, illum uxor, filii distrahunt, Cardan. [De Consolatione, Lib. i.] ⁴ Boethius, l. i. met. 5. ⁵ Virg. Æn. vi. 743.] ⁶ Apuleius, Florid. [iv. 18.] Nihil homini tam prosperè datum divinitus, quin ei admixtum sit aliquid difficultatis; in amplissima quaque lætitia subest quædam querimonia, conjugatione quadam mellis et fellis. ⁷ Si omnes premantur, quis tu es qui solus evadere cupis ab ea lege quæ neminem præterit? Cur te mortalem factum et universi non orbis regem fieri non doles? [De Consolatione, Lib. i.] ⁸ Seneca, Troades, 1016, 1017.] ⁹ Puteanus, Ep. 75. Neque cuiquam præcipue dolendum eo quod accidit universis.

thyself with this, thou hast more fellows, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris*,¹ 'tis not thy sole case, and why shouldst thou be so impatient? ²*I, but, alas! we are more miserable than others: what shall we do? Besides private miseries, we live in perpetual fear, and danger of common enemies; we have Bellona's whips, and pitiful outcries, for Epithalamiums; for pleasant Musick, that fearful noise of Ordinance, Drums, and warlike Trumpets, still sounding in our ears; instead of nuptial Torches, we have firing of Towns and Cities; for triumphs, lamentations; for joy, tears.* ³*So it is, and so it was, and ever will be. He that refuseth to see and hear, to suffer this, is not fit to live in this world, and knows not the common condition of all men, to whom, so long as they live, with a reciprocal course, joys and sorrows are annexed, and succeed one another.* It is inevitable, it may not be avoided, and why then shouldst thou be so much troubled? *Grave nihil est homini quod fert necessitas*, as ⁴*Tully* deems out of an old Poet, that which is necessary cannot be grievous. If it be so, then comfort thyself in this, ⁵*that, whether thou wilt or no, it must be endured: make a virtue of necessity, and conform thyself to undergo it.* ⁶*Si longa est, levis est; si gravis est, brevis est;* if it be long, 'tis light; if grievous, it cannot last; it will away, *dies dolorem minuit*,⁷ and if nought else, yet time will wear it out, custom will ease it; ⁸oblivion is a common medicine for all losses, injuries, griefs, and detriments whatsoever, ⁹*and when they are once past, this commodity comes of infelicity, it makes the rest of our life, sweeter unto us:* ¹⁰*atque hæc olim meminisse juvabit; the privation and want of a thing many times makes it more pleasant and delightsome than before it was.* We must not think, the happiest of us all, to escape here without some misfortunes,

[¹ An undiscovered line, falsely ascribed sometimes to Ovid.] ² Lorchan. Gallobelgicus, lib. 3. Anno 1598. de Belgis. *Euge! sed eheu! inquis, quid agemus? ubi pro Epithalamio Bellonæ flagellum, pro musica harmonia terribilem lituorum et tubarum audias clangorem, pro tædis nuptialibus, villarum, pagorum, urbium videas incendia; ubi pro júbilo lamenta, pro risu fletus, aërem complent.* ³ Ita est profecto, et quisquis hæc videre abnuis, huic sæculo parum aptus es; aut potius nostrorum omnium conditionem ignoras, quibus reciproco quodam nexu luctu tristibus, tristia lætis, invicem succedunt. ⁴ In Tusc. è vetere poeta. [Eur. Hypsipyle. Fragm. Quoted by Plutarch, Consol. ad Apoll. § 16.] ⁵ Cardan. lib. 1. de consol. Est consolationis genus non leve, quod à necessitate fit; sive feras, sive non feras, ferendum est tamen. ⁶ Seneca. [Ep. 24. § 14.] ⁷ Seneca, Consolatio ad Marciam, § viii.] ⁸ Omni dolori tempus est medicina; ipsum luctum extinguit, injurias delet, omnis mali oblivionem adfert. [Cardan. Lib. i. de consol.] ⁹ Habet hoc quoque commodum omnis infelicitas, suaviorem vitam cum abierit relinquit. ¹⁰ Virg. [Æn. i. 203.]

—¹ Usque adeò nulla est sincera voluptas
Sollicitumque aliquid lætis intervenit. —

Heaven and earth are much unlike; ²*those heavenly bodies indeed are freely carried in their orbs without any impediment or interruption, to continue their course for innumerable ages, and make their conversions: but men are urg'd with many difficulties, and have divers hindrances, oppositions, still crossing, interrupting their endeavours and desires; and no mortal man is free from this law of nature.* We must not therefore hope to have all things answer our own expectation, to have a continuance of good success and fortunes, *Fortuna nunquam perpetuè est bona.*³ And as *Minucius Felix*, the Roman Consul, told that insulting *Coriolanus*, drunk with his good fortunes, "look not for that success thou hast hitherto had;" ⁴*it never yet happened to any man since the beginning of the world, nor ever will, to have all things according to his desire, or to whom fortune was never opposite and adverse.* Even so it fell out to him as he foretold. And so to others, even to that happiness of *Augustus*; though he were *Jupiter's* Almoner, *Pluto's* Treasurer, *Neptune's* Admiral, it could not secure him. Such was *Alcibiades'* fortune, *Narses'*, that great *Gonsalvo's*, and most famous men's, that, as ⁵*Jovius* concludes, *it is almost fatal to great Princes, through their own default, or otherwise circumvented with envy and malice, to lose their honours, and die contumeliously.* 'Tis so, still hath been, and ever will be, *nihil est ab omni parte beatum,*⁶

There's no perfection is so absolute,
That some impurity doth not pollute.

Whatsoever is under the Moon is subject to corruption, alteration; and, so long as thou livest upon the earth, look not for other.
⁷*Thou shalt not here find peaceable and cheerful days, quiet times,*

¹ Ovid. [Met. vii. 453. 454. For there is no pleasure perfect, some anxiety always intervenes.] ² Lorchan. Sunt namque infera superis, humana terrenis, longe disparia. Etenim beate mentes feruntur liberè, et sine ullo impedimento: stellæ, æthereique orbis, cursus et conversiones suas jam sæculis innumerabilibus constantissimè conficiunt; verum homines magnis angustiis. Neque hac naturæ lege est quisquam mortalium solutus. [³ See Pausanias, viii. 24.] ⁴ Dionysius Halicarn. lib. 8. [cap. 27.] Non enim unquam contigit, nec post homines natos invenies quemquam, cui omnia ex animi sententia successerint, ita ut nulla in re fortuna sit ei adversata. ⁵ Vit. Gonsalvi lib. ult. Ut ducibus fatale sit clarissimis, aut culpa sua aut secus, circumveniri cum malitia et invidia, inminutaque dignitate per contumeliam mori. [Gonsalvo di Cordova, 1453-1515, was a famous General of Ferdinand and Isabella.] [⁶ Hor. Odes. ii. 16. 27, 28.] ⁷ In terris purum illum ætherem non invenies, et ventos serenos; nimbos potius, procellas, calumnias. Lips. cent. misc. ep. 8.

but rather clouds, storms, calumnies; such is our¹ fate. And as those errant planets, in their distinct orbs, have their several motions, sometimes direct, stationary, retrograde, in *Apogeo*, *Perigeo*, oriental, occidental, combust, feral, free, and, as our Astrologers will, have their fortitudes and debilities, by reason of those good and bad irradiations, conferred to each other's site in the heavens, in their terms, houses, case, detriments, &c. so we rise and fall in this world, ebb and flow, in and out, reared and dejected, lead a troublesome life, subject to many accidents and casualties of fortunes, variety of passions, infirmities, as well from ourselves as others.

Yea, but thou thinkest thou art more miserable than the rest, other men are happy in respect of thee, their miseries are but flea-bitings to thine, thou alone art unhappy, none so bad as thyself. Yet if, as *Socrates* said, *'all the men in the world should come and bring their grievances together, of body, mind, fortune, sores, ulcers, madness, epilepsies, agues, and all those common calamities of beggary, want, servitude, imprisonment, and lay them on a heap to be equally divided, wouldst thou share alike, and take thy portion, or be as thou art? Without question thou wouldst be as thou art. If some Jupiter should say, to give us all content,*

² Jam faciam quod vultis; eris tu, qui modò miles,
Mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus; hinc vos,
Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus; eia!
Quid statis? nolint."

Well, be't so then: you, master soldier,
Shall be a merchant; you, sir lawyer,
A country gentleman; go you to this,
That side you; why stand ye? It's well as 'tis.

Every man knows his own, but not others' defects and miseries;³ and 'tis the nature of all men still to reflect upon themselves, their own misfortunes, not to examine or consider other men's, not to confer themselves with others: to recount their miseries, but not their good gifts, fortunes, benefits, which they have, to ruminate on their adversity, but not once to think on their prosperity, not what they have, but what they want: to look still on them that go

¹ Si omnes homines sua mala suasque curas in unum cumulum conferrent, æquis divisuri portionibus, &c. [Plutarch, ad Apollonium, § ix.] ² Hor. ser. lib. i. i. [16-19.] ³ Quod unusquisque propria mala novit, aliorum nesciat, in causa est, ut se inter alios miserum putet. Cardan. lib. 3. de consol. Plutarch, de consol. ad Apollonium. [§ ix.]

before, but not on those infinite numbers that come after. ¹*Whereas many a man would think himself in heaven, a petty Prince, if he had but the best part of that fortune which thou so much repinest at, abhorrest, and accountest a most vile and wretched estate.* How many thousands want that which thou hast ! how many myriads of poor slaves, captives, of such as work day and night in coal-pits, tin-mines, with sore toil to maintain a poor living, of such as labour in body and mind, live in extreme anguish, and pain, all which thou art free from ! *O fortunatos nimium bona si sua norint !*² Thou art most happy if thou couldst be content, and acknowledge thy happiness. ³*Rem cavendo, non fruendo cognoscimus,*⁴ when thou shalt hereafter come to want, that which thou now loathest, abhorrest, and art weary of, and tired with, when 'tis past, thou wilt say thou werest most happy : and, after a little miss, wish with all thine heart thou hadst the same content again, might'st lead but such a life, a world for such a life : the remembrance of it is pleasant. Be silent then, ⁵rest satisfied, *desine, intuensque in aliorum infortunia solare mentem*, comfort thyself with other men's misfortunes, and, as the mouldwarp [mole] in *Æsop* told the fox, complaining for want of a tail, and the rest of his companions, *tacete, quando me oculis captum videtis*, you complain of toys, but I am blind, be quiet ; I say to thee be thou satisfied. It is ⁶recorded of the hares, that, with a general consent, they went to drown themselves, out of a feeling of their misery ; but when they saw a company of frogs more fearful than they were, they began to take courage and comfort again. Confer thine estate with others. *Similes aliorum respice casus, mitius ista feres.*⁷ Be content and rest satisfied, for thou art well in respect of others ; be thankful for that thou hast, that God hath done for thee ; he hath not made thee a monster, a beast, a base creature, as he might, but a man, a Christian, such a man ; consider aright of it, thou art full well as thou art. ⁸*Quicquid vult habere nemo potest*, no man can have what he will, *illud potest nolle quod non habet*, he may choose whether he will desire that which he hath not : thy lot is fallen,

¹ Quam multos putas qui se cœlo proximos putarent, totidem regulos, si de fortunæ turbe reliquis pars iis minima contingat. Boeth. de consol. lib. 2. pros. 4. [² Virg. G. ii. 458.] [³ We know the value of a thing from wanting it more than from enjoying it.] [⁴ Cic. Ad Quirites Post Reditum, § 3.] [⁵ Hesiod. Esto quod es ; quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse ; Quod non es, nolis ; quod potes esse, velis.] [⁶ Æsopi fab. [Ed. Halm. 237.] [⁷ Ovid, Met. xv. 494, 495.] [⁸ Seneca, [Epistle 123, § 3.]

make the best of it. ¹*If we should all sleep at all times, (as Endymion is said to have done), who then were happier than his fellow?* Our life is but short, a very dream, and, while we look about, ²*immortalitas adest*, eternity is at hand: ³*our life is a pilgrimage on earth, which wise men pass with great alacrity.* If thou be in woe, sorrow, want, distress, in pain, or sickness, think of that of our Apostle, *God chastiseth them whom he loveth. They that sow in teares shall reap in joy*, Psal. 126. 6. *As the furnace proveth the potter's vessel, so doth temptation try men's thoughts*, Eccl. 27. 5; 'tis for ⁴thy good, *periïsses nisi periïsses*:⁵ hadst thou not been so visited, thou hadst been utterly undone; as *gold in the fire*,⁶ so men are tried in adversity. *Tribulatio ditat*:⁷ and, which *Camerarius* hath well shadowed in an Emblem of a thresher and corn,

Si tritura absit paleis sunt abdita grana,
Nos crux mundanis separat à paleis.

As threshing separates from straw the corn,
By crosses from the world's chaff are we born.

'Tis the very same which ⁸*Chrysostom* comments, *hom. 2. in 3. Mat. Corn is not separated but by threshing, nor men from worldly impediments but by tribulation.* 'Tis that which ⁹*Cyprian* ingeminates, *Ser. 4. de immort.* 'Tis that which ¹⁰*Hierom*, which all the Fathers, inculcate; *so we are catechised for eternity.* 'Tis that which the proverb insinuates, *nocumentum documentum*; ¹¹'tis that which all the world rings into our ears. *Deus unicum habet filium sine peccato, nullum sine flagello*: God, saith ¹²*Austin*, hath one son without sin, none without correction. ¹³*An expert sea-man is tried in a tempest, a runner in a race, a Captain in a battle, a valiant man in adversity, a Christian in temptation and misery.* *Basil. hom. 8.* We are sent as so many soldiers into this world, to strive with it, the flesh, the devil; our life is a warfare, and who knows it not?

¹ Sidormirent semper omnes, nullus alio feliciore esset. Card. [De Consolatione, Lib. iii.] ² Seneca de Ira. [iii. 43. fin. memorijer. cf. 42.] ³ Plato, Axiocho. [365 B.] An ignoras vitam hanc peregrinationem, &c. quam sapientes cum gaudio percurrunt? ⁴ Sic expedit; medicus non dat quod patiens vult, sed quod ipse bonum scit. [⁵ Cf. Plut. On Exile, § vii.] [⁶ i. Pet. i. 7.] [⁷ Tribulation maketh rich.] ⁸ Frumentum non egreditur nisi tritum, &c. ⁹ Non est prona damnantis sed flagellum corrigentis. ¹⁰ Ad hereditatem æternam sic eudimur. [Comment. in Isaiam. xv. 54.] [¹¹ Cf. Erasmi Adagia, p. 39. Quæ nocent docent. What hurts teaches.] [¹² In Psalmum xxxi. v. 10. (Vulgate.)] ¹³ Nauclerum tempestas, athletam stadium, ducem pugna, magnanimum calamitas, Christianum vero tentatio probat et examinat.

¹*Non est ad astra mollis è terris via :* ²*and therefore, peradventure, this world here is made troublesome unto us, that, as Gregory notes,* ³*we should not be delighted by the way, and forget whither we are going.*

⁴*Ite nunc fortes, ubi celsa magni
Ducit exempli via : cur inertes
Terga nudatis? superata tellus
Sidera domat.*

Go on then merrily to heaven. If the way be troublesome, and you in misery, in many grievances, on the other side you have many pleasant sports, objects, sweet smells, delightsome tastes, musick, meats, herbs, flowers, &c. to recreate your senses. Or put case thou art now forsaken of the world, dejected, condemned, yet comfort thyself, as it was said to *Hagar* in the wilderness, ⁵*God sees thee, he takes notice of thee:* there is a God above that can vindicate thy cause, that can relieve thee. And surely ⁶*Seneca* thinks he takes delight in seeing thee. *The gods are well pleased when they see great men contending with adversity,* as we are to see men fight, or a man with a beast. But these are toys in respect. ⁷*Behold,* saith he, *a spectacle worthy of God: a good man contented with his estate.* A tyrant is the best sacrifice to *Jupiter*, as the ancients held, and his best object a *contented mind*. For thy part then rest satisfied, *cast all thy care on him, thy burden on him, rely on him, trust on him, and he shall nourish thee, care for thee, give thee thine heart's desire;* say with *David*, *God is our hope and strength, in troubles ready to be found,* Psal. 46. 1. *For, they that trust in the Lord shall be as mount Sion, which cannot be removed,* Psal. 125. 1, 2. *As the mountains are about Jerusalem, so is the Lord about his people, from henceforth and for ever.*

¹ Sen. Herc. Fur. [437 The way from earth to heaven is not an easy one.]

² Ideo Deus asperum fecit iter, ne, dum delectantur in via, obliviscantur eorum quæ sunt in patria. [3 Moralium, Lib. xxiii. cap. 24.] ⁴ Boethius, l. 1. met. ult. 4.

[Go now, brave fellows, where the lofty path of a great example leads. Why do you stupidly expose your backs? The earth brings the stars to subjection.]

⁵ Boeth. pros. ult. [cap. 2. memoriter.] Manet spectator cunctorum desuper præcibus Deus, bonis præmia, malis supplicia dispensans. ⁶ Lib. de Provid. [lib. 5.] Voluptatem capiunt dii siquando magnos viros colluctantes cum calamitate vident.

⁷ Ecce spectaculum Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus. [Lib. de Prov. cap. 2.] ⁸ 1 Pet. v. 7. Psal. lv. 22.

MEMB. II.

Deformity of Body, Sickness, Baseness of Birth, Peculiar Discontents.

PARTICULAR discontents and grievances are either of body, mind, fortune, which, as they wound the soul of man, produce this melancholy, and many great inconveniences, by that antidote of good counsel and persuasion may be eased or expelled. Deformities and imperfections of our bodies, as lameness, crookedness, deafness, blindness, be they innate or accidental, torture many men: yet this may comfort them, that those imperfections of the body do not a whit blemish the soul, or hinder the operations of it, but rather help and much increase it. Thou art lame of body, deformed to the eye; yet this hinders not but that thou mayst be a good, a wise, upright, honest man. ¹*Seldom*, saith *Plutarch*, *honesty and beauty dwell together*; and oftentimes under a threadbare coat lies an excellent understanding; *sæpè sub attritâ latitat sapientia veste*. ²*Cornelius Mussus*, that famous Preacher in *Italy*, when he came first into the Pulpit in *Venice*, was so much contemned by reason of his outside, a little, lean, poor, dejected person,³ they were all ready to leave the Church; but when they heard his voice they did admire him, and happy was that Senator could enjoy his company, or invite him first to his house. A silly fellow to look to may have more wit, learning, honesty, than he that struts it out, *ampullis jactans*,⁴ &c. *grandia gradiens*,⁵ and is admired in the world's opinion. *Vilis sæpe cadus nobile cictar habet*, the best wine comes out of an old vessel. How many deformed Princes, Kings, Emperors, could I reckon up, Philosophers, Orators! *Hannibal* had one eye, *Appius Claudius*, *Timoleon*, blind, *Muley Hassan*, King of *Tunis*, *John*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Tiresias* the Prophet. ⁶*The night hath his pleasure*; and for the loss of that one sense such men are commonly recompensed in the rest; they have excellent memories, other good parts, mœsick, and many recreations; much happiness, great wisdom, as *Tully* well discourseth in his⁷ *Tusculan Questions*. *Homer* was blind, yet who

¹ *Raro sub eodem Lare honestas et forma habitant.* ² *Josephus Mussus, vita ejus.* ³ *Homuncio brevis, macilentus, umbra hominis, &c. Ad stuporem ejus eruditionem et eloquentiam admirati sunt.* [⁴ *Hor. A. P. 97.*] [⁵ *Cf. Ovid. Met. xiii. 776.*] ⁶ *Nox habet suas voluptat: s. [Excerpta e libris Senecæ.]* ⁷ *Lib. 5. ad finem. Cæcus potest esse sapiens et beatus, &c. [cap. 39.]*

(saith he) made more accurate, lively, or better descriptions, with both his eyes? *Democritus* was blind, yet, as *Laertius* writes of him, he saw more than all *Greece* besides; as ¹*Plato* concludes, *tum sanè mentis oculus acutè incipit cernere, quum primum corporis oculus deflorescit*, when our bodily eyes are at worst, generally the eyes of our soul see best. Some Philosophers and Divines have evirated themselves, [as *Origen*], and put out their eyes voluntarily, the better to contemplate. *Angelus Politianus* had a tetter in his nose continually running, fulsome in company, yet no man so eloquent and pleasing in his works. *Æsop* was crooked, *Socrates* purblind, long-legged, hairy, *Democritus* withered, *Seneca* lean and harsh, ugly to behold; yet shew me so many flourishing wits, such divine spirits! *Horace* a little blear-eyed contemptible fellow, yet who so sententious and wise? *Marcilius Ficinus*, *Faber Stapulensis*, a couple of dwarfs, ²*Melancthon* a short hard-favoured man, *parvus erat, sed magnus erat*, &c. yet of incomparable parts all three. ³*Ignatius Loyola*, the founder of the Jesuits, by reason of an hurt he received in his leg at the siege of *Pampeluna*, the chief town of *Navarre*⁴ in *Spain*, unfit for wars, and less serviceable at court, upon that accident betook himself to his beads, and by those means got more honour than ever he should have done with the use of his limbs, and properness of person, ⁵*vulnus non penetrat animum*, a wound hurts not the soul. *Galba* the Emperor was crook-backed, *Epicletus* lame; that great *Alexander* a little man of stature, ⁶*Augustus Cæsar* of the same pitch: *Agesilaus despicibili formâ*; *Bæcharis* a most deformed Prince as ever *Egypt* had, yet, as ⁷*Diodorus Siculus* records of him, in wisdom and knowledge far beyond his predecessors. *Anno Dom. 1306*, ⁸*Uladeslaus Cubitalis*, that pigmy King of *Poland*, reigned and fought more victorious battles, then any of his long-shanked predecessors. *Nullam virtus respuit staturam*, virtue refuseth no stature; and commonly your great vast bodies, and fine features, are sottish, dull, and leaden spirits. What's in them? ⁹*Quid nisi pondus iners, stolidæque ferocia mentis*? What in *Otus* and *Ephialtes* (*Neptune's sons* in *Hom.*) nine acres long?

¹ In Convivio. lib. 25. [p. 219 A.]

² Joachinus Camerarius, vit. ejus.

³ Ribet. vit. ejus. [⁴ Navarre only became French through Henri IV.]

⁵ Macrobius.

⁶ Sueton. c. 7. 9.

⁷ Lib. 1. [cap. 65.] Corpore exili et

despecto, sed ingenio et prudentia longe ante se reges cæteros præveniens.

⁸ Alexander Gaguinus, Hist. Polandiæ. Corpore parvus eram, cubito vix altior uno, Sed tamen in parvo corpore magnus eram.

⁹ Ovid. [Halæutica. 59.]

¹Quam magnus Orion,
Cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei
Stagna viam scindens, humero supereminet undas.

[As great Orion, marching through the sea,
Stands head and shoulders out above the waves.]

What in *Maximinus*, *Ajax*, *Caligula*, and the rest of those great
Zanzummins, or gigantical *Anakims*, heavy, vast, barbarous lubbers?

———²si membra tibi dant grandia Parcæ,
Mentis eges.

Their body, saith ³*Lemnius*, is a burden to them, and their spirits
not so lively, nor they so erect and merry. *Non est in magno corpore
mica salis.*⁴ A little diamond is more worth than a rocky moun-
tain; which made *Alexander Aphrodisiaeus*⁵ positively conclude,
the lesser, the ⁶*wiser, because the soul was more contracted in such a
body.* Let *Bodine*, in his 5. c. *method. hist.* plead the rest: the
lesser they are, as in *Asia*, *Græce*, they have generally the finest
wits. And for bodily stature, which some so much admire, and
goodly presence, 'tis true, to say the best of them, great men are
proper, and tall, *I grant*,—*caput inter nubila condunt*⁷ [hide their
heads in the clouds]; but *belli pusilli*, little men are pretty; *Sed
qui bellus homo est, Cotta, pusillus homo est.*⁸

Sickness, diseases, trouble many, but without a cause. ⁹*It may
be 'tis for the good of their souls: pars fati fuit,*¹⁰ the flesh rebels
against the spirit; that which hurts the one must needs help the
other. Sickness is the mother of modesty, putteth us in mind of
our mortality; and, when we are in the full career of worldly pomp
and jollity, she pulleth us by the ear, and maketh us know ourselves.
¹¹*Pliny* calls it the sum of philosophy, *if we could but perform that in
our health, which we promise in our sickness.* ¹²*Quum infirmi sumus,
optimi sumus,*¹³ for what sick-man (as ¹⁴*Secundus* expostulates with
Maximus) was ever lascivious, covetous, or ambitious? *he envies no man,*

¹ Virg. *Æneid.* 10. [763-765.] [² If the fates give you large proportions, you are
lacking in intellect.] ³ Lib. 2. cap. 20. *Oneri es illis corporis moles, et
spiritus minus vividi.* [⁴ Catullus, 86. 4. There's not a grain of wit in a big
body.] [⁵ A celebrated commentator on Aristotle.] ⁶ *Corpora brevès
prudentiores quum coarctata sit anima. Ingenio pollet cui vim natura negavit.*

[⁷ Virg. *Æn.* x. 767.] [⁸ Martial, i. ix. 2.] ⁹ *Multis ad salutem animæ
profruit corporis ægrotudo.* Petrarch. [¹⁰ It was part of their destiny.] ¹¹ Lib. 7.
[Ep. 26.] *Summa est totius Philosophiæ, si tales, &c.* [¹² When we are sick, we
are most virtuous.] [¹³ *Ibidem.*] ¹⁴ *Plinius*, epist. 7. lib. [Ep. 26.] *Quem
infirmum libido sollicitat, aut avaritia, aut honores? nemini invidet, neminem
miratur, neminem despicit, sermone maligno non alitur.*

admires no man, flatters no man, despiseth no man, listens not after lies and tales, &c. And were it not for such gentle remembrances, men would have no moderation of themselves; they would be worse than tigers; wolves, and lions: who should keep them in awe? *Princes, Masters, Parents, Magistrates, Judges, friends, enemies, fair or foul means, cannot contain us, but a little sickness* (as ¹ *Chrysostom* observes) *will correct and amend us.* And therefore, with good discretion, ² *Jovianus Pontanus* caused this short sentence to be engraven on his tomb in *Naples*: *Labour, sorrow, grief, sickness, want and woe, to serve proud masters, bear that superstitious yoke, and bury your dearest friends, &c. are the sauces of our life.* If thy disease be continue and painful to thee, it will not surely last: *and a light affliction, which is but for a moment, causeth unto us a far more excellent and eternal weight of glory,* 2 Cor. 4. 17. Bear it with patience: women endure much sorrow in child-bed, and yet they will not contain; and those that are barren, wish for this pain: *be courageous,* ³ *there is as much valour to be shewed in thy bed, as in an army, or at a sea-fight: aut vincetur, aut vincet,* ⁴ thou shalt be rid at last. In the mean time, let it take his course, thy mind is not any way disabled. *Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus*, Senator to *Charles the Fifth*, ruled all *Germany*, lying most part of his days sick of the gout upon his bed. The more violent thy torture is, the less it will continue: and, though it be severe and hideous for the time, comfort thyself, as martyrs do, with honour and immortality. ⁵ *That famous philosopher, Epicurus*, being in as miserable pain of stone and colick as a man might endure, solaced himself with a conceit of immortality; *the joy of his soul for his rare inventions repelled the pain of his bodily torments.*

Baseness of birth is a great disparagement to some men, especially if they be wealthy, bear office, and come to promotion in a Common-wealth; then (as ⁶ he observes) if their birth be not answerable to their calling, and to their fellows, they are much abashed and ashamed of themselves. Some scorn their own

¹ *Nō terret princeps, magister, parens, iudex; at ægritudo superveniens omnia correxit.* ² *Nat. Chytræus, Europ. deliciis. Labor, dolor, ægritudo, luctus, servire superbis dominis, jugum ferre superstitionis, quos habet caros sepelire, &c. condimenta vitæ sunt.* ³ *Non tam mari quam prælio virtus, etiam lecto exhibetur: vincetur aut vincet; aut tu febrem relinques, aut ipsa te.* *Seneca. [Epistle 78, memoriter.]* ⁴ *[Seneca, Epistle, 92, § 25.]* ⁵ *Tullius [De Fin. ii. 30.] Vesicæ morbo laborans, et urinæ mittendæ difficultate tanta, ut vix incrementum caperet; repellebat hæc omnia animi gaudium ob memoriam inventorum.* ⁶ *Boeth. lib. 2. pr. 4. Huic census exuberat, sed est pudori degener sanguis.*

father and mother, deny brothers and sisters, with the rest of their kindred and friends, and will not suffer them to come near them, when they are in their pomp, accounting it a scandal to their greatness to have such beggarly beginnings. *Simon* in *Lucian*,¹ having now got a little wealth, changed his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*, for that there were so many beggars of his kin, and set the house on fire where he was born, because no body should point at it. Others buy titles, coats of arms, and by all means screw themselves into ancient families, falsifying pedigrees, usurping scutcheons, and all because they would not seem to be base. The reason is for that this gentility is so much admired by a company of outsides, and such honour attributed unto it, as amongst ²*Germans*, *Frenchmen*, and *Venetians*, the Gentry scorn the commonalty, and will not suffer them to match with them; they depress, and make them as so many asses to carry burdens. In our ordinary talk and fallings out the most opprobrious and scurrile name we can fasten upon a man, or first give, is to call him base rogue, beggarly rascal, and the like: whereas, in my judgement, this ought of all other grievances to trouble men least. Of all vanities and fopperies, to brag of Gentility is the greatest; for what is it they crack so much of, and challenge such superiority, as if they were demi-gods? Birth?

Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?³

It is *non ens*, a mere flash, a ceremony, a toy, a thing of nought. Consider the beginning, present estate, progress, ending of Gentry, and then tell me what it is. *‘Oppression, fraud, cozening, usury, knavery, bawdry, murder, and tyranny, are the beginning of many ancient families. One hath been a blood-sucker, a parricide, the death of many a silly soul in some unjust quarrels, seditions, made many an orphan and poor widow; and for that he is made a Lord or an Earl, and his posterity Gentlemen for ever after. Another hath been a bawd, a pander to some great man, a parasite, a slave, prostituted himself, his wife, daughter, to some lascivious Prince,*

[¹ Gallus, § 14.] ² Gaspar Ens. polit. thes. [³ Virg. Æn. i. 132. Did you rely so on your birth?] ⁴ Alii pro pecunia eniunt nobilitatem, alii illam lenocinio, alii veneficiis, alii parricidiis; multis perditio nobilitate conciliat, plerique adulatione, detractatione, calumniis, &c. Agrip. de vanit. scient. [c. 80.] ⁵ Ex homicidio sæpe orta nobilitas et strenua carnificina. [cap. 80. Ibidem.] ⁶ Plures ob prostitutas filias, uxores, nobiles facti; multos venationes, rapinæ, cædes, præstigia, &c. [Ibid. c. 80.]

and for that he is exalted. *Tiberius* preferred many to honours in his time, because they were famous whore-masters and sturdy drinkers; many come into this parchment-row (so 'one calls it) by flattery or cozening; search your old families, and you shall scarce find of a multitude (as *Æneas Sylvius*² observes) *qui scelera tum non habent ortum*, that have not a wicked beginning; *aut qui vi et dolo eo fastigii non ascendunt*, as that plebeian in *3 Machiavel* in a set oration proved to his fellows, that do not rise by knavery, force, foolery, villainy, or such indirect means. *They are commonly able, that are wealthy; virtue and riches seldom settle on one man: who then sees not the base beginning of nobility? spoils enrich one, usury another, treason a third, witchcraft a fourth, flattery a fifth, lying, stealing, bearing false witness, a sixth, adultery the seventh, &c.* One makes a fool of himself to make his Lord merry, another dandles my young Master, bestows a little nag on him, a third marries a crackt piece, &c. Now may it please your good Worship, your Lordship, who was the first founder of your family? The Poet answers,

⁴Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Are he or you the better Gentleman? If he, then we have traced him to his form.⁵ If you, what is it of which thou boastest so much? That thou art his son. It may be his heir, his reputed son, and yet indeed a Priest or a serving-man may be the true father of him; but we will not controvert that now; married women are all honest; thou art his son's son's son, begotten & born *intra quatuor maria*,⁶ &c. Thy great great grandfather was a rich citizen, and then in all likelihood a usurer, a lawyer, and then a—a courtier, & then a—a Country Gentleman, and then he scraped it out of sheep, &c. And you are the heir of all his virtues, fortunes, titles; so then, what is your Gentry, but as *Hierom* saith, *opes antiquæ, inveteratæ, divitiæ*, ancient wealth? that is the definition of Gentility. The father goes often to the Devil to make his son a Gentleman. For the present, what is it? *It began*

¹ Sat. Menip.

[² In his History of Euryalus and Lucretia, in Letter 114.]

³ Cum enim hos dici nobiles videmus, qui divitiis abundant, divitiæ vero ratio virtutis sunt comites, quis non videt ortum nobilitatis degenerem? hunc usuræ ditârunt, illum spolia, prodiones; hic beneficiis ditatus, ille adulationibus, huic adulteria lucrum præbent, nonnullis mendacia, quidam ex conjugè quæstum faciunt, plerique ex natis, &c. Florent. Hist. lib. 3.

⁴ Juven. [viii. 275. Either

a shepherd, or something that I would rather not tell.]

[⁵ A metaphor taken

from hare-hunting.] • [Within the four seas.]

(saith ¹*Agrippa*) with strong impiety, with tyranny, oppression, &c. and so it is maintained: wealth began it (no matter how got) wealth continueth and increaseth it. Those *Roman* knights were so called, if they could dispend *per annum* [annually] so much. ²In the kingdom of *Naples* and *France*, he that buys such lands buys the honour, title, Barony together with it; and they that can dispend so much amongst us must be called to bear office, to be knights, or fine for it, as one observes, ³*nobiliorem ex censu judicant*, our Nobles are measured by their means. And what now is the object of honour? What maintains our Gentry but wealth? ⁴*Nobilitas sine re projecta vilior algâ*, without means Gentry is naught worth; nothing so contemptible and base. ⁵*Disputare de nobilitate generis, sine divitiis, est disputare de nobilitate stercoris*, saith *Nevissanus* the lawyer, to dispute of Gentry without wealth, is (saving your reverence) to discuss the original of a mard. So that it is wealth alone that denominates, money which maintains it, gives *esse* to it, for which every man may have it. And what is their ordinary exercise? ⁶*sit to eat, drink, lie down to sleep, and rise to play*: wherein lies their worth and sufficiency? in a few coats of arms, eagles, lions, serpents, bears, tigers, dogs, crosses, bends, fesses, &c. and such like baubles, which they commonly set up in their galleries, porches, windows, on bowls, platters, coaches, in tombs, churches, men's sleeves, &c. ⁷*If he can hawk and hunt, ride an horse, play at cards and dice, swagger, drink, swear*, take tobacco with a grace, sing, dance, wear his clothes in fashion, court and please his mistress, talk big fustian, ⁸insult, scorn, strut, contemn others, and use a little mimical and apish compliment above the rest, he is a complete (*Egregiam verò laudem!*⁹) a well-qualified gentleman; these are most of their employments, this their greatest commendation. What is Gentry, this parchment Nobility then, but, as ¹⁰*Agrippa* defines it, a sanctuary of knavery and naughtiness, a cloke for wickedness and execrable vices, of pride, fraud, contempt, boasting, oppression, dissimulation, lust, gluttony,

¹ *Robusta improbitas à tyrannide incepta, &c.* [Ibid. c. 80.] ² *Gasper. Ens,* thesaur. polit.

³ *Gresserus, Itinerar. fol. 266.* ⁴ *Hor. [Sat. ii. v. 8. memoriter, with a reminiscence of Virg. Ecl. vii. 42.]* ⁵ *Syl. nup. lib. 4. num. III.* ⁶ *Exod. xxxii. [6.]*

⁷ *Omnium nobilium sufficientia in eo probatur si venatica noverint, si aleam, si corporis vires ingentibus poculis commonstrent, si naturæ robur numerosa venere probent, &c.* ⁸ *Difficile est ut non sit superbus dives, Austin. ser. 24.* ⁹ *Virg. Æn. iv. 93. Here is excellent praise!* ¹⁰ *Nobilitas nihil aliud nisi improbitas, furor, rapina, latrocinium, homicidium, luxur, venatio, violentia, &c. [De vanit. scient. c. 80.]*

malice, fornication, adultery, ignorance, impiety? A nobleman therefore, in some likelihood, as he concludes, is an *atheist, an oppressor, an epicure, a gull, a dizzard, an illiterate idiot, an outside, a glow-worm, a proud fool, an arrant ass, ventris et inguinis mancipium*, a slave to his lust & belly, *solaque libidine fortis*.¹ And, as *Salvianus* observed of his countrymen the *Aquitanes* in *France*, *sicut titulis primi fuere, sic et vitiis*;² and *Cabinet du Roy*, their own writer, distinctly of the rest; *the Nobles of Berry are most part lechers, they of Touraine thieves, they of Narbonne covetous, they of Guienne coiners, they of Provence atheists, they of Rheims superstitious, they of Lyons treacherous, of Normandy proud, of Picardy insolent, &c.* We may generally conclude the greater men the more vicious. In fine, as *Aeneas Sylvius* adds, *they are most part miserable, sottish and filthy fellows, like the walls of their houses, fair without, foul within.* What dost thou vaunt of now?³ *What dost thou gape and wonder at? admire him for his brave apparel, horses, dogs, fine houses, manors, orchards, gardens, walks? Why, a fool may be possessor of this as well as he, and he that accounts him a better man, a Nobleman for having of it, he is a fool himself.* Now go and brag of thy Gentility. This is it belike, which makes the *Turks* at this day scorn Nobility, and all those huffing bombast titles, which so much elevate their poles: except it be such as have got it at first, maintain it by some supereminent quality, or excellent worth. And for this cause, the *Ragusian*⁷ Common-wealth, *Switzers*, and the United⁸ Provinces, in all their Aristocracies, or Democratical Monarchies, (if I may so call them), exclude all these Degrees of hereditary honours, and will admit of none to bear office but such as are learned, like those *Athenian Arcopagites*, wise, discreet, and well brought up. The *Chinenses* observe the same custom, no man amongst them Noble by birth; out of their Philosophers and Doctors they choose Magistrates; their politick Nobles are taken

¹ The fool took away my lord in the mask, 'twas apposite.

[² Juv. iv. 3.]

[³ As they were the first in rank, so also in vices.] ⁴ De miser. curial. [Epist. 166.]

Miseri sunt, inepti sunt, turpes sunt, multi ut parietes ædium suarum speciosi. ⁵ Miraris aureas vestes, equos, canes, ordinem famulorum, lautas mensas, ædes, villas, prædia, piscinas, silvas, &c. hæc omnia stultus assequi potest. Pandarus noster lenocinio nobilitatus est. *Aeneas Sylvius*. [Euryalus and Lucretia.] ⁶ Bello-nius, observ. lib. 2. [⁷ Ragusa, a city on the East Coast of the Adriatick, was for many centuries an independent Republic; it is now at the head of a district in Dalmatia. See *Encycl. Brit.* 11th Ed.] ⁸ Mat. Riccius, lib. 1. cap. 3. Ad regendam remp. soli doctores aut licentiati adsciscuntur &c

from such as be *moraliter nobiles*, virtuous noble; *nobilitas ut olim ab officio, non à naturâ*,¹ as in *Israel* of old, and their office was to defend and govern their Country in war and peace, not to hawk, hunt, eat, drink, game alone, as too many do. Their *Loysii, p̄dandarini, literati, licentiati*, and such as have raised themselves by their worth, are their Noblemen only, [only] thought fit to govern a state; and why then should any that is otherwise of worth be ashamed of his birth? why should not he be as much respected that leaves a noble posterity, as he that hath had noble ancestors? nay, why not more? for *plures solem orientem*,² we adore the rising sun most part; and how much better is it to say, *Ego meis majoribus virtute praeluxi*,³ to boast himself of his virtues, than of his birth? *Cathesbeius*, Sultan of *Egypt* and *Syria*, was by his condition a slave, but for worth, valour, and manhood, second to no King, and for that cause (as ⁴*Jovius* writes) elected Emperor of the *Mamelukes*. That poor Spanish *Pizarro* for his valour made by *Charles* the Fifth Marquess of *Anatillo*; the Turkey *Pashas* are all such. *Pertinax, Philippus Arabs, Maximinus, Probus, Aurelius, &c.* from common soldiers became Emperors, *Cato, Cincinnatus, &c.* Consuls; *Pius Secundus, Sixtus Quintus, Johannes Secundus, Nicholas Quintus, &c.* Popes. *Socrates, Virgil, Horace, libertino patre natus*.⁵ "The Kings of *Denmark* fetch their pedigree, as some say, from one *Ulfo*, that was the son of a bear. ⁶*E tenui casa sæpè vir magnus exit*, many a worthy man comes out of a poor cottage. *Hercules, Romulus, Alexander*, (by *Olympia's* confession), *Themistocles, Jugurtha*, King *Arthur*, *William* the Conqueror, *Homer, Demosthenes, P. Lombard, P. Comestor, Bartholus, Adrian* the Fourth, Pope, &c. bastards; and almost in every Kingdom the most ancient families have been at first Princes' bastards; their worthiest captains, best wits, greatest scholars, bravest spirits, in all our Annals, have been base. "Cardan, in his Subtilities, gives a reason why they are most part better able than others in body and mind, and so *per consequens* [consequently] more.

[¹ Nobility is from office, not birth.] [² See *Erasmi Adagia*, p. 786 Tac. Annals, vi. 46.] [³ I have outshone my ancestors in virtue.] [⁴ Lib. 1. hist. Conditione servus, ceterum acer bello, et animi magnitudine maximorum regum nemini secundus: ob hæc à Mameluchis in regem electus.] [⁵ Hor. Sat. i. 6. 6. Of low extraction.] [⁶ *Olaus Magnus*, lib. 18. Saxo Grammaticus. A quo rex Sueno et cætera Danorum regum stemmata.] [⁷ Seneca de Contro. Philos. epist. 8. Corpore sunt et animo fortiores spurii, plerumque ob amoris vehementiam, seminis crass. &c. [De Subtilitate, Lib. xii. Cf. Shak. 1. 1. A. i. Sc. ii.]

fortunate. *Castrucci¹ Castrucanus*, a poor child, found in the field, exposed to misery, became Prince of *Lucca* and *Senes* in *Italy*, a most complete soldier, and worthy captain; *Machiavel* compares him to *Scipio* or *Alexander*. *And 'tis a wonderful thing* ('saith he) *to him that shall consider of it, that all those, or the greatest part of them, that have done the bravest exploits here upon earth, and excelled the rest of the nobles of their time, have been still born in some abject, obscure place, or of base and obscure abject parents.* A most memorable observation, ² *Scaliger* accounts it, *et non prætereundum, maximorum virorum plerosque patres ignoratos, matres impudicas fuisse.*³ *I could recite a great catalogue of them, every Kingdom, every Province, will yield innumerable examples: and why then should baseness of birth be objected to any man? Who thinks worse of Tully for being Arpinas,*⁴ *an upstart, or [of] Agathocles, that Sicilian King, for being a potter's son? Iphicrates and Marius were meanly born.* • *What wise man thinks better of any person for his nobility? As he said in* ⁵ *Machiavel, omnes eodem patre nati,*⁶ *Adam's sons, conceived all and born in sin, &c. We are by nature all as one, all alike, if you see us naked; let us wear theirs and they our clothes, and what's the difference?* To speak truth, as ⁷ *Bale* did of *P. Schalichius*, *I more esteem thy worth, learning, honesty, than thy nobility; honour thee more that thou art a writer, a Doctor of Divinity, than Earl of the Huns, Baron of Skradine, or hast title to such and such provinces, &c. Thou art more fortunate and great* (so ⁸ *Jovius* writes to *Cosmo de Medici*, then Duke of *Florence*) *for thy virtues than for thy lovely wife, and happy children, friends, fortunes, or great Duchy of Tuscany.* So I account thee, and who doth not so indeed? ⁹ *Abdolonymus* was a gardener,

¹ Vita Castrucci. Nec præter rationem mirum videri debet, si quis rem considerare velit, omnes eos vel saltem maximam partem, qui in hoc terrarum orbe res præstantiores aggressi sunt, atque inter cæteros ævi sui heroas excelluerunt, aut obscuro aut abjecto loco editos, et prognatos fuisse abjectis parentibus. Eorum ego catalogum infinitum recensere possem. ² Exercit. 265. [³ It is a thing

deserving of our notice, that most great men were born in obscurity, and of unchaste mothers.] [⁴ Juv. viii. 237. i.e. a provincial.] ⁵ Flor. hist. l. 3. Quod si nudos nos conspici contingat, omnium una eademque erit facies; nam si ipsi nostras,

nos eorum vestes induamus, nos, &c. [⁶ We are all born from one ancestor, all]

⁷ Ut merito dicam, quod simpliciter sentiam, Paulum Schalichium scriptorem, et doctorem, pluris facio quam equitem Hunnorum, et Baronem Skradinum. Encyclopædiam tuam et orbem disciplinarum omnibus provinciis antefero. Balæus, epist. nuncupat. ad 5 cent. ultimam script. Brit. ⁸ Præfat. hist. lib. 1. Virtute tua major quam aut Etrusci Imperii fortuna, aut numerosæ et decoræ prolis

felicitate beator evadis. ⁹ Curtius. [iv. 1. 19.]

and yet by *Alexander* for his virtues made King of *Syria*. How much better is it to be born of mean parentage, and to excel in worth, to be morally noble, which is preferred before that natural nobility, by divines, philosophers, and ¹politicians, to be learned, honest, discreet, well qualified, to be fit for any manner of employment, in country and common-wealth, war and peace, than to be *degeneres Neoptolemi*,² as many brave nobles are, only wise because rich, otherwise idiots, illiterate, unfit for any manner of service! ³*Udalricus*, Earl of *Cilia*, upbraided *John Huniades* with the baseness of his birth, but he replied, *in te Ciliensis Comitatus turpiter extinguitur, in me gloriose Bistricensis exoritur*, thine Earldom is consumed with riot, mine begins with honour and renown. Thou hast had so many noble ancestors; what is that to thee? *Vix ea nostra voco*,⁴ when thou art a dizzard thyself: *quid prodest, Pontice, longo stemmate censer?*⁵, &c. I conclude, hast thou a sound body, and a good soul, good bringing up? art thou virtuous, honest, learned, well qualified, religious, are thy conditions good? thou art a true Nobleman, perfectly noble, although born of *Thersites*, —*dummodo tu sis—Æaciæ similis*,⁷ *non natus, sed factus*, noble, κατ' ἐξοχήν,⁸ *for neither sword, nor fire, nor water, nor sickness, nor outward violence, nor the Devil himself, can take thy good parts from thee*. Be not ashamed of thy birth then, thou art a Gentleman all the world over, and shalt be honoured, when as he, strip him of his fine clothes, ⁹dispossess him of his wealth, is a funge, (which ¹⁰*Polynices* in his banishment found true by experience, Gentry was not esteemed), like a piece of coin in another country, that no man will take, and shall be contemned. Once more, though thou be a *Barbarian*, born at *Tontonteat*, a villain, a slave, a *Saldanian* Negro, or a rude *Virginian* in *Dasamouquepeuc*, he a French *Monsieur*, a Spanish *Don*, a *Seignior of Italy*, I care not how descended, of what family, of what order, Baron, Count, Prince, if thou be well qualified, and he not, but a degenerate *Neoptolemus*.¹ I tell thee in a word, thou art a man, and he is a beast.

¹ Bodine, de rep. lib. 3. cap. 8. [² Virg. *Æn.* ii. 549. degenerate Neoptolemuises.]

³ *Æneas Sylvius*, lib. 2. cap. 29. [⁴ Ovid, *M.* xii. 141.] ⁵ "If children be proud, haughty, foolish, they defile the nobility of their kindred," Eccl. xxii. 10. [⁶ *Ju.* viii. 1, 2. memoriter.] [⁷ *Juv.* viii. 269, 270.]

⁸ Cujus possessio nec furto eripi, nec incendio absumi, nec aquarum voragine absorberi, vel vi morbi destrui potest.

⁹ Send them both to some strange place naked, ad ignotos, as Aristippus said, [See *Diog. Laert.* ii. 73.] you shall see the difference. Bacon's *Essays*, [xxii.]

¹⁰ *Familie splendor nihil opis attulit*, &c. [*Eur. Phœn.* 405.] [¹¹ Virg. *Æn.* ii. 549.]

Let no *terra filius*,¹ or upstart, insult at this which I have said, no worthy Gentleman take offence. I speak it not to detract from such as are well deserving, truly virtuous and noble: I do much respect and honour true Gentry and Nobility; I was born of worshipful parents myself, in an ancient family, but I am a younger brother, it concerns me not: or had I been some great heir, richly endowed, so minded as I am, I should not have been elevated at all, but so esteemed of it, as of all other human happiness, honours, &c. they have their period, are brittle and unconstant. As ²he said of that great river *Danubius*, it riseth from a small fountain, a little brook at first, sometimes broad, sometimes narrow, now slow, then swift, increased at last to an incredible greatness by the confluence of 60 navigable rivers, it vanisheth in conclusion, loseth his name, and is suddenly swallowed up of the *Euxine* Sea: I may say of our greatest families, they were mean at first, augmented by rich marriages, purchases, offices, they continue for some ages, with some little alteration of circumstances, fortunes, places, &c. by some prodigal son, for some default, or for want of issue, they are defaced in an instant, and their memory blotted out.

So much in the mean time I do attribute to Gentility, that, if he be well descended, of worshipful or noble parentage, he will express it in his conditions:

——— ³nec enim feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbas.⁴

And although the nobility of our times be much like our coins, more in number and value, but less in weight and goodness, with finer stamps, cuts, or outsides, than of old: yet if he retain those ancient characters of true Gentry, he will be more affable, courteous, gently disposed, of fairer carriage, better temper, of a more magnanimous, heroical, and generous spirit, than that *vulgus hominum*, those ordinary boors and peasants, *qui adeo improbi, agrestes, et inculti plerumque sunt, ne dicam malitiosi, ut nemini ullum humanitatis officium præsent, ne ipsi Deo, si advenerit, as* ⁵one observes of them, a rude, brutish, uncivil, wild, a currish generation, cruel

[¹ Cic. ad Attic. i. 13. 4.] ² Fluvius hic illustris, humanarum rerum imago, quæ parvis ductæ sub initiis, in immensum crescunt, et subito evanescent. Exilis hic primo fluvius, in admirandam magnitudinem excrecit, tandemque in mari Euxino evanescit. J. Stuckius, peregr. mar. Euxini. [³ For fierce eagles do not produce doves.] [⁴ Hor. Odes. iv. iv. 31, 32, memoriter.] ⁵ Sabinus in 6. Ovid. Met. Fab. 4.

and malicious, incapable of discipline, and such as have scarce common sense. And it may be generally spoken of all, which ¹*Lemnius* the Physician said of his travel into *England*, the common people were silly, sullen, dogged clowns, *sed mitior nobilitas, ad omne humanitatis officium paratissima*, the Gentlemen were courteous and civil. If it so fall out (as often it doth) that such peasants are preferred by reason of their wealth, chance, error, &c. or otherwise, yet as the cat in the fable, when she was turned to a fair maid, would play with mice; a cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown, he will likely favour of the stock whence he came, and that innate rusticity can hardly be shaken off.

²*Licet superbus ambulet pecuniâ,*

Fortuna non mutat genus.

[Although he stalks about proud from his money,
His fortune changes not his origin.]

And though by their education such men may be better qualified, and more refined, yet there be many symptoms, by which they may likely be descried, an affected phantastical carriage, a tailor-like spruceness, a peculiar garb in all their proceedings, choicer than ordinary in his diet, and, as ³*Hicrome* well describes such a one to his *Nepotian*, *an upstart born in a base cottage, that scarce at first had coarse bread to fill his hungry guts, must now feed on kickshaws and made dishes, will have all variety of flesh and fish, the best oysters, &c.* A beggar's brat will be commonly more scornful, imperious, insulting, insolent, than another man of his rank: *nothing so intolerable as a fortunate fool*, as ⁴*Tully* found long since out of his experience.

Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum,

set a beggar on horseback, and he will ride a gallop, a gallop, &c.

—— ⁶*desævit in omnes,*

Dum se posse putat, nec bellua sævior ulla est

Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentis;

he forgets what he was, domineers, &c. and many such other symptoms he hath, by which you may know him from a true Gentleman. Many errors & obliquities are on both sides, noble, ignoble, *factis, natis*; yet still in all callings, as some

¹ Lib. 1. de 4. *Complexionibus.*

² Hor. [Epod. iv. 5. 6.]

³ Lib. 2. ep. 15.

Natus sordido tuguriolo et paupere domo, qui vix milio rugientem ventrem, &c.

⁴ *Nihil fortunato insipiente intolerabilius.* [De amicitia, 15. 54.]

[⁵ Claudian, in

Eutropium, l. 181.]

⁶ Claud. in *Eutrop.* [i. 182-184.]

degenerate, some are well deserving, and most worthy of their honours. And as *Busbequius* said of *Solyman* the Magnificent, he was *tanto dignus imperio*, worthy of that great Empire: many meanly descended are most worthy of their honour, *politice nobiles*, and well deserve it. Many of our Nobility so born (which one said of *Hephæstio*, *Ptolemæus*, *Seleucus*, *Antigonus*, &c. and the rest of *Alexander's* followers, they were all worthy to be Monarchs and Generals of Armies) deserve to be Princes. And I am so far forth of *Sesellius* his mind, that they ought to be preferred (if capable) before others, *as being nobly born, ingeniously brought up, and from their infancy trained to all manner of civility*. For learning & virtue in a Noble-man is more eminent, and, as a Jewel set in gold is more precious, and much to be respected, such a man deserves better than others, and is as great an honour to his family as his Noble family to him. In a word, many Noblemen are an ornament to their order: many poor men's sons are singularly well endowed, most eminent, and well deserving for their worth, wisdom, learning, virtue, valour, integrity; excellent members and pillars of a Common-wealth. And, therefore, to conclude that which first I intended, to be base by birth, meanly born, is no such disparagement. *Et sic demonstratur, quod erat demonstrandum*. [And thus I have proved what I had to prove.]

MEMB. III.

•Against Poverty and Want, with such other Adversities.

ONE of the greatest miseries that can befall a man, in the world's esteem, is poverty or want, which makes men steal, bear false witness, swear, forswear, contend, murder and rebel, which breaketh sleep, and causeth death itself. *οὐδὲν πένις βαρύτερόν ἐστι φρονητικόν*, no burden (saith *Menander*) so intolerable as poverty: it makes men desperate, it erects and dejects, [*dat*] *census honores, census amicitias*; money makes, but poverty mars, &c. and all this in the world's esteem: yet, if considered aright, it is a great blessing in itself, an happy estate, and yields no such cause of discontent, or that men should therefore account themselves vile,

¹ Lib. 1. de Rep. Gal. Quoniam et commodiorem utuntur conditione, et, honestiorem loco nati, jam inde à parvulis ad morum civilitatem educati sunt, et assuefacti.
² Nullum paupertate gravius onus. [³ Ov. Fast. i. 217, 218.]

hated of God, forsaken, miserable, unfortunate. Christ himself was poor, born in a manger, and had not a house to hide his head in all his life, *1*lest any man should make poverty a judgement of God, or an odious estate. And as he was himself, so he informed his Apostles and Disciples, they were all poor, Prophets poor, Apostles poor (*Act. 3. [6.] Silver and gold have I none*). As *scrowing* (saith Paul) and yet alway rejoicing; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things, *2*Cor. 6. 10. Your great Philosophers have been voluntarily poor, not only Christians, but many others. *Crates Thebanus* was adored for a god in Athens, *3*a nobleman by birth, many servants he had, an honourable attendance, much wealth, many Manors, fine apparel; but when he saw this, that all the wealth of the world was but bristle, uncertain, and no whit availing to live well, he flung his burden into the sea, and renounced his estate.³ Those *Curii and Fabricii* will be ever renowned for contempt of these fopperies, wherewith the world is so much affected. Amongst Christians I could reckon up many Kings and Queens, that have forsaken their Crowns and fortunes, and wilfully abdicated themselves from these so much esteemed toys; *4*many that have refused honours, titles, and all this vain pomp and happiness, which others so ambitiously seek, and carefully study to compass and attain. Riches, I deny not, are God's good gifts, and blessings; and *honor est in honorante*, honours are from God; both rewards of virtue, and fit to be sought after, sued for, and may well be possessed: yet no such great happiness in having, or misery in wanting of them. *Dantur quidem bonis*, saith *Austin*,⁶ *ne quis mala æstimet: malis autem ne quis nimis bona*, good men have wealth that we should not think it evil; and bad men that they should not rely on or hold it so good; as the rain falls on both sorts, so are riches given to good and bad, *sed bonis in bonum*, but they are good only to the godly. But *6*confer both estates, for natural parts they are not unlike; and a beggar's child, as *7*Cardan well observes, *is no whit inferior to a Prince's, most part*,

¹ Ne quis iræ divinæ iudicium putaret, aut paupertas exosa foret. Gualt. in cap. 2. ver. 18. Lucæ. ² Inter proceres Thebanos numeratus, lectum habuit genus, frequens famulitium, domus amplas, &c. Apuleius, Florid. l. 4. [22.]

[³ Diog. Laërtius, Lib. vi. cap. 5.] ⁴ P. Blesensis, ep. 72. et 232. Oblatos respui honores, ex onere metiens motus ambitiosos; rogatus non ivi, &c. [⁶ Sermo 50.]

⁶ Sudat pauper foras in opere, dives in cogitatione; hic os aperit oscitatione, ille ructatione; gravius ille fastidio, quam hic inedia cruciatur. Ber. ser. ⁷ In Hyperchen. Natura æqua est, puerosque videmus mendicorum nulla ex parte regum filiis dissimiles, plerumque saniores. [§ 19.]

better; and for those accidents of fortune, it will easily appear there is no such odds, no such extraordinary happiness in the one, or misery in the other. He is rich, wealthy, fat; what gets he by it? pride, insolency, lust, ambition, cares, fears, suspicion, trouble, anger, emulation, and many filthy diseases of body and mind. He hath indeed variety of dishes, better fare, sweet wine, pleasant sauce, dainty musick, gay clothes, lords it bravely out, &c. and all that which *Micyllus* admired in *Lucian*, but with them he hath the gout, dropsies, apoplexies, palsies, stone, pox, rheums, catarrhes, crudities, oppilations, ²Melancholy, &c. Lust enters in, anger, ambition. According to ³*Chrysostom*, *the sequel of riches is pride, riot, intemperance, arrogancy, fury, and all irrational courses.*

— ⁴*Turpi frugerunt sæcula fluxu
Divitiæ molles,*—

with their variety of dishes, many such maladies of body and mind get in, which the poor man knows not of. As Saturn, in *Lucian*, answered the discontented commonalty, (which because of their neglected *Saturnal* Feasts in *Rome*, made a grievous complaint and exclamation against rich men) that they were much mistaken in supposing such happiness in riches; ⁶*you see the best* (said he) *but you know not their several gripings and discontents*: they are like painted walls, fair without, rotten within: diseased, filthy, crazy, full of intemperate effects; ⁷*and who can reckon half? if you but knew their fears, cares, anguish of mind, and vexation, to which they are subject, you would hereafter renounce all riches.*

⁸*O si pateant pectora ditum,
Quantos intus sublimis agit
Fortuna metus! Bruttia Coro
Pulsante fretum mitior unda est.*

O that their breasts were but conspicuous,
How full of fear within, how furious!
The narrow seas are not so boisterous.

Yea, but he hath the world at will that is rich, the good things of

¹ Gallus, [§ 12.] ² Et à contubernio fœdi atque olidi ventris mors tandem educit. ³ Seneca, ep. 103. ⁴ Divitiarum sequela, luxus, intemperies, arrogantia, superbia, furor injustus, omnisque irrationabilis motus. ⁵ Juven. Sat. 6. [299, 300. Effeminate riches have ruined the age by the introduction of shameful luxury.] ⁶ Saturn. Epist. [2.] ⁷ Vos quidem divites putatis felices, sed nescitis eorum miseras. [Ibid.] ⁸ Et quota pars hæc eorum quæ istos discruciant? si nossetis metus et curas, quibus obnoxii sunt, planè fugiendas vobis divitias existimaretis. [Ibid.] ⁹ Seneca in Herc. Cæte. [648 sq.]

the earth; *suave est ex magno tollere acervo*,¹ he is a happy man, ²adored like a God, a Prince, every man seeks to him, applauds, honours, admires him. He hath honours indeed, abundance of all things: but (as I said) withal, ³*pride, lust, anger, faction, emulation, fears, cares, suspicion, enter with his wealth*; for his intemperance he hath aches, crudities, gout, and as fruits of his idleness, and fulness, lust, surfeiting, and drunkenness, all manner of diseases: *pecuniis augetur improbitas*, the wealthier, the more dishonest. ⁴*He is exposed to hatred, envy, peril, and treason, fear of death, of degradation, &c.* 'tis *lubrica statio et proxima præcipitio*,⁵ and the higher he climbs, the greater is his fall.

— ⁶*celsæ graviore casu*
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fingura montes,

the lightning commonly sets on fire the highest towers; ⁷in the more eminent place he is, the more subject to fall.

Rumpitur innumeris arbos uberrima pomis,
Et subito nimie præcipitantur opes.

As a tree that is heavy laden with fruit breaks her own boughs, with their own greatness they ruin themselves: which *Joachimus Camerarius* hath elegantly expressed in his 13th Emblem, cent. 1. *Inopem se copia fecit.*⁸ Their means is their misery: though they do apply themselves to the times, to lie, dissemble, colloque and flatter their lieges, obey, second his will and commands, as much as may be, yet too frequently they miscarry, they fat themselves like so many hogs, as ⁹*Aeneas Sylvius* observes, that, when they are full fed, they may be devoured by their Princes, as *Seneca* by *Nero* was served, *Sejanus* by *Tiberius*, and *Haman* by *Ahasuerus*. I resolve with *Gregory*, *potestas culminis est tempestas mentis*,¹⁰ *et quo dignitas altior, casus gravior*, honour is a tempest, the higher they are elevated, the more grievously depressed. For the rest of his prerogatives which wealth affords, as he hath more, his expenses are the greater. *When goods increase, they are increased*

[¹ Hor. Sat. i. i. 51. It is pleasant to draw from a great heap.] ² Et Diis similes stulta cogitatio facit. ³ Flamma simul libidinis ingreditur; ira, furor et superbia, divitiarum sequela. Chrys. ⁴ Omnium oculis, odio, insidiis expositus, semper sollicitus, fortunæ ludibrium. [⁵ 'Tis a dazzling position and close to a precipice.] ⁶ Hor. 2. l. od. 10. [10-12.] ⁷ Quid me felicem toties jactastis, amici? Qui cecidit, stabili non fuit ille loco. Boeth. [De Consolatione Philosophiæ, Lib. i. Metrum I.] [⁸ Ovid, M. iii. 466.] ⁹ Ut postquam impinguati fuerint, devorentur. [¹⁰ Regulæ Pastoralis Liber, Pars Prima, cap. ix.]

that eat them ; and what good cometh to the owners, but the beholding thereof with the eyes ? Eccles. 5. 11.

¹ Millia frumenti tua triverit area centum,

Non tuus hinc capiet venter plus quam meus.——

*An evil sickness, Solomon calls it, and reserved to them for an evil, [Eccles. v.] 13th verse. They that will be rich fall into many fears and temptations, into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drive men in perdition, 1 Tim. 6. 9. Gold and silver hath destroyed many, Eccles. 8. 2. Divitiæ sæculi sunt laquei diaboli: so writes Bernard;² worldly wealth is the devil's bait; and as the Moon, when she is fuller of light, is still farthest from the Sun, the more wealth they have, the farther they are commonly from God. (If I had said this of myself, rich men would have pulled me a-pieces, but hear who saith, & who seconds it, an Apostol^e) therefore St. James bids them weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon them; *their gold shall rust and canker, and eat their flesh as fire, Jam. 5. 1, 2, 3.* I may then boldly conclude with ³Theodor^et, *quotiescunque divitiis affluentem, &c. as often as you shall see a man abounding in wealth, qui gemmis bibit et Sarrano dormit in ostro,*⁴ *and naught withal, I beseech you call him not happy, but esteem him unfortunate, because he hath many occasions offered to live unjustly: on the other side, a poor man is not miserable, if he be good, but therefore happy, that those evil occasions are taken from him.**

⁵ Non possidentem multa vocaveris

Recte beatum; rectius occupat

Nomen beati, qui deorum

Muneribus sapienter uti,

Duramque callet pauperiem pati,

Pejusque leto flagitium timet.

He is not happy that is rich,

And hath the world at will,

But he that wisely can God's gifts

Possess and use them still:

That suffers and with patience

Abides hard poverty,

And chooseth rather for to die

Than be such villainy.

¹ Hor. [Sat. i. 1. 45, 46. Although a hundred thousand bushels of wheat may be threshed in your granaries, your stomach will not hold more of it than mine.]

[² In Psal. *Qui habitat*, Sermo iii.] ³ Cap. 6. de curat, græc. affect. rap. de providentia. Quotiescunque divitiis affluentem hominem videmus, eumque pessimum, ne queso hunc beatissimum putemus, sed infelicem censeamus, &c.

[⁴ Virg. G. ii. 506. memoriter. Who drinks from golden cups, and sleeps on down.] ⁵ Hor. Od. [4. 9. 45-50.]

Wherein now consists his happiness? What privileges hath he more than other men? Or rather what miseries, what cares and discontents, hath he not more than other men?

¹ Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.

U

Nor treasures, nor mayors' officers remove
The miserable tumults of the mind:
Or cares that lie about, or fly above
Their high-roofed houses, with huge beams combin'd.

'Tis not his wealth can vindicate him, let him have *Job's* inventory, *sint Cræsi et Crassi licet, non hos Pactolus, aureas undas agens, eripat unquam è miseriis*,² *Cræsus* or rich *Crasus* cannot now command health, or get himself a stomach.³ His *Worship*, as *Apuleius* describes him, *in all his plenty and great provision, is forbidden to eat, or else hath no appetite* (sick in bed, can take no rest, sore grieved with some chronick disease, contracted with full diet and ease, or troubled in mind) *when as, in the mean time, all his household are merry, and the poorest servant that he keeps doth continually feast.* 'Tis *bracteata felicitas*, as *Seneca* terms it, tin-foil'd happiness, *infelix felicitas*, an unhappy kind of happiness, if it be happiness at all. His gold, guard, clattering of harness, and fortifications against outward enemies, cannot free him from inward fears and cares.

Reveraque metus hominum, curæque sequaces
Nec . . . ætuunt fremitus armorum, aut ferrea tela,
Audacterque inter reges, regumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.⁵

Indeed men still attending fears and cares,
Nor armours clashing, nor fierce weapons fears:
With kings converse they boldly, and king's peers,
Fearing no flashing that from gold appears.

Look how many servants he hath, and so many enemies he suspects; for liberty, he entertains ambition; his pleasures are no pleasures; and that which is worst, he cannot be private or enjoy himself as other men do, his state is a servitude. "A country man

¹ Hor. 2. [Odes ii. 16. 9-12.] [² See Erasmii Adagia, pp. 251, 252.] [³ Florid. lib. 4. Dives ille cibo interdicitur, et in omni copia sua cibum non accipit, cum interea totum ejus servitium hilare sit, atque epuletur. [ch. 22. memoriter.]
⁴ Epist. 115. [⁵ Lucret. ii. 48-51.] [⁶ Hor. [Sat. i. vi. 104, 105.] Et mihi curto Ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum.

may travel from kingdom to kingdom, province to province, city to city, and glut his eyes with delightful objects, hawk, hunt, and use those ordinary disports, without any notice taken, all which a Prince or a great man cannot do. He keeps in for state, *ne majestatis dignitas evilescat*,¹ as our *China* Kings, of *Borneo*, and *Tartarian Chams*, those *aurea mancipia*,² are said to do, seldom or never seen abroad, *ut major sit hominum erga se observantia*,³ which the *Persian* Kings so precisely observed of old. A poor man takes more delight in an ordinary meal's meat, which he hath but seldom, than they do with all their exotick dainties, and continual viands; *Quippe voluptatem commendat rarior usus*,⁴ 'tis the rarity and necessity that makes a thing acceptable and pleasant. *Darius*, put to flight by *Alexander*, drank puddle water to quench his thirst, and it was pleasanter, he swore, than any wine or mead.⁵ All excess, as *Epictetus* argues, will cause a dislike; sweet will be sour, which made that temperate *Epicurus* sometimes voluntarily fast. But they, being always accustomed to the same dishes (which are nastily dressed by slovenly cooks, that after their obscenities never wash their bawdy hands) be they fish, flesh, compounded, made dishes, or whatsoever else, are therefore cloyed; *nectar's* self grows loathsome to them, they are weary of all their fine palaces, they are to them as so many prisons. A poor man drinks in a wooden dish, and eats his meat in wooden spoons, wooden platters, earthen vessels, and such homely stuff; the other in gold, silver, and precious stones; but with what success? *In auro bibitur venenum*,⁶ fear of poison in the one, security in the other. A poor man is able to write, to speak his mind, to do his own business himself; *locuples mittit parasitum*, saith ¹⁰*Philostratus*, a rich man employs a parasite, and, as the Mayor of a City, speaks by the Town-clefk, or by Mr. *Recorder*, when he cannot express himself. ¹¹*Nonius* the Senator had a purple coat as stiff with Jewels, as his mind is full of vices, rings on his fingers worth 20,000 sesterces, and as ¹²*Perozes*, the *Persian*

[¹ That the dignity of his majesty may not grow cheap.] [² Golden slaves.] [³ That men may observe him more when he does.] [⁴ *Brissonius*.] [⁵ *Juv. xi.* 208.] [⁶ *Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 34. 97.*] [⁷ *Si modum excesseris, suavissima sunt molesta. [Fr. 55.]*] [⁸ *Et in cupidinis gulae, coquus et pueri illotis manibus ab exoneratione ventris omnia tractant, &c. Cardan l. 8. cap. 46. de rerum varietate.*] [⁹ *Seneca, Thyestes, 453.*] [¹⁰ *Epist. [vii.]*] [¹¹ *Plin. lib. 57. cap. 6.*] [¹² *Zonaras 3. annal. [See Gibbon, D. & F. ch. 40. Procopius, Persic. Lib. i. cc. 3-6. Zonaras is no doubt a slip of Burton's. I can find nothing there as to Perozes.]*]

King, an union¹ in his ear worth 100 pound weight of gold :
² *Cleopatra* hath whole boars and sheep served up to her table
 at once, drinks jewels dissolved, 40,000 sesterces in value; but
 to what end?

³ Num tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quæris
 Pocula?

Doth a man that is a dry, desire to drink in gold? Doth not a
 cloth suit become him as well, and keep him as warm, as all their
 silks, satins, damasks, taffeties and tissues? Is not home-spun
 cloth as great a preservative against cold, as a coat of *Taxtar*
 Lambs' wool, dyed in grain, or a gown of Giants' beards? *Nero*,
 saith ⁴ *Suetonius*, never put on one garment twice, and thou hast
 scarce one to put on; what's the difference? one's sick, the other
 sound: such is the whole tenor of their lives, and that which is the
 consummation and upshot of all, death itself makes the greatest
 difference. One like an hen feeds on the dunghill all his days,
 but is served up at last to his Lord's table; the other as a Falcon
 is fed with Partridge and Pigeons, and carried on his master's fist,
 but when he dies, is flung to the muckhill, and there lies. The
 rich man lives, like *Dives*, jovially here on earth, *temulentus*
divitiis,⁵ make the best of it; and *boasts himself in the multitude*
of his riches, *Psa.* 49. 6, 11. he thinks his house, *called after his*
own name, shall continue for ever; *but he perisheth like a beast*, *v.*
12. his way utters his folly, *v.* 13. *malè parata, malè dilabuntur*;⁶
like sheep they lie in the grave, 14. *Puncto descendunt ad infernum*,
They spend their days in wealth, and go suddenly down to Hell, *Job*
21. 13. For all Physicians and medicines enforcing nature, a
 swooning wife, family's complaints, friends' tears, Dirges, Masses,
menias, funerals, for all Orations, counterfeit hired acclamations,
 Elogiums, Epitaphs, hearses, heralds, black mourners, solemnities,
 obelisks, and *Mausolean* tombs, if he have them at least, ⁷ he
 like a hog, goes to Hell with a guilty conscience (*propter hos dilata-
 vit infernus os suum*⁸) and a poor man's curse: his memory stinks
 like the snuff of a candle when it is put out; scurrile libels, and
 infamous obloquies accompany him; when as poor *Lazarus* is *Dei*

[¹ = a pearl.] ² Plutarch. vit. [Antonii, § 28.] ³ Hor. Ser. lib. 1. Sat. 2.
 [114. 115.] ⁴ Cap. 30. Nullam vestem bis induit. [⁵ Intoxicated with his
 wealth.] [⁶ Poeta ap. c. Phil. 2. 27. Ill-gotten gains are soon dispersed.]
⁷ Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci Descendunt reges, et sicca
 morte tyranni. [Juv. x. 112, 113.] [⁸ Isaiah, v. 14.]

Sacrarium, the Temple of God, lives and dies in true devotion, hath no more attendants but his own innocency, the Heaven a tomb, desires to be dissolved, buried in his Mother's lap, and hath a company of ¹Angels ready to convey his soul into *Abraham's* bosom, he leaves an everlasting and a sweet memory behind him. *Crassus* and *Sulla* are indeed still recorded, but not so much for their wealth, as for their victories: *Cræsus* for his end, *Solomon* for his wisdom. In a word, ²*to get wealth is a great trouble, anxiety to keep, grief to lose it.*

³Quid dignum stolidis mentibus imprecet?

Opes, honores ambiant:

Et cum falsa gravi mole paraverint,

Tum vera cognoscant bona.

But consider all those other unknown, concealed happinesses, which a poor man hath (I call them unknown, because they be not acknowledged in the world's esteem, or so taken) *O fortunatos nimium, bona si sua norint*:⁴ happy they are in the mean time, if they would take notice of it, make use or apply it to themselves. *A poor man wise is better than a foolish King, Eccl. 4. 13.* ⁵*Poverty is the way to heaven,* ⁶*the mistress of philosophy,* ⁷the mother of religion, virtue, sobriety, sister of innocency, and an upright mind. How many such encomiums might I add out of the Fathers, Philosophers, Orators! It troubles many that are poor, they account of it as a great plague, curse, a sign of God's hatred, *ipsum scelus*, damn'd villainy itself, a disgrace, shame and reproach; but to whom, of why? ⁸*If fortune hath envied me wealth, thieves have robbed me, my father have not left me such revenues as others have,* that I am a younger brother, basely born,

——Cui sine luce genus, surdumque parentum——
Nomen,⁹

of mean parentage, a dirt-dauber's son, am I therefore to be

¹ "God shall deliver his soul from the power of the grave," Psal. xlix. 15.
² Contempl. Idiot. Cap. 37. Divitiarum acquisitio magni laboris, possessio magni tumoris, amissio magni doloris.
³ Boethius de consol. phil. l. 3. [metrum 8.]
 [What should I fitly pray for stolid minds? Let them covet wealth and honours: and when they have thus got false burdens, let them then discern true blessings.]
⁴ Virg. G. ii. 458.] ⁵ Austin in Ps. lxxvi. omnis Philosophiæ magistra, ad cælum via.
⁶ Bonæ mentis soror paupertas. [Petronius, Sat. c. 84.]
⁷ Pædagogia pietatis sobria, pia mater, cultu simplex, habitu secunda, consilio benesuada. Apul. [Apologia, 433. memoriter.] ⁸ Cardan. Opprobrium non est paupertas: quod latro eripit, aut pater non reliquit, cur mihi vitio daretur, si fortuna divitias invidit? non aquilæ, non, &c. [⁹ Silius Italicus, viii. 246, 247.]

blamed? *an Eagle, a Bull, a Lion, is not rejected for his poverty, and why should a man?* 'Tis ¹ *fortunæ telum, non culpæ*, fortune's fault, not mine. *Good Sir, I am a servant* (to use ² *Seneca's* words) *howsoever your poor friend; a servant, and yet your chamber-fellow, and, if you consider better of it, your fellow-servant.* I am thy drudge (in the world's eyes, yet in God's sight peradventure thy better, my soul is more precious, and I dearer unto him. *Etiam servi Diis curæ sunt*, as *Evangelus* at large proves in *Macrobius*,³ the meanest servant is most precious in his sight. Thou art an *Epicure*, I am a good Christian: thou art many parasangs before me in means, favour, wealth, honour, *Claudius* his *Narcissus*,⁴ *Nero's Massa*,⁵ *Domitian's Parthenius*,⁶ a favourite, a golden slave; thou coverest thy floors with marble, thy roofs with gold, thy walls with statues, fine pictures, curious hangings, &c. *calcas opes*,⁷ &c. what of all this? what's all this to true happiness? I live and breathe under that glorious Heaven, that august Capitol of nature, enjoy the brightness of Stars, that clear light of Sun and Moon, those infinite creatures, plants, birds, beasts, fishes, herbs, all that sea and land affords, far surpassing all that art and *opulentia* can give. I am free, and which ⁸ *Seneca* said of *Rome*, *culmus liberos texit, sed marmore et auro postea servitus habitavit*,⁹ thou hast *Amaltheæ cornu*,¹⁰ plenty, pleasure, the world at will, I am despicable and poor; but a word over-shot, a blow in choler, a game at tables, a loss at Sea, a sudden fire, the Prince's dislike, a little sickness, &c. may make us equal in an instant; howsoever, take thy time, triumph and insult a while, *cinis æquat*, as ¹¹ *Alphonsus* said, death will equalize us all at last. I live sparingly in the mean time, am clad homely, fare hardly; is this a reproach? am I the worse for it? am I contemptible for it? am I to be reprehended? A learned man in ¹² *Nevisanus* was taken down for sitting amongst Gentlemen, but he replied, *my Nobility is about the head, yours declines to the tail*, and they were silent. Let them mock, scoff and revile, 'tis not thy scorn, but his that made thee so; *he that mocketh the poor*

¹ Tully. [Ad Fam. v. 16. 2.] ² Epist. [47. § 1.] *Servus, summe homo; ærvus sum, immo contubernalis, servus sum, at humilis amicus, immo conservus, si cogitaveris.* [³ Saturnalia, i. 11.] [⁴ See Juv. xiv. 329-331.] [⁵ See Juv. i. 35, with Mayor's Note.] [⁶ Dion Cassius, lxxvii. 15, 17. Suet. Dom. 16.] [⁷ Excerpta e libris Senecæ. = You despise riches.] [⁸ Epist. 66 et 90, [§ 9.] [⁹ A hut reared free men, afterwards slavery dwelt in a marble and gold hall.] [¹⁰ The horn of Amalthea.] [¹¹ Panormitan. rebus gestis Alph. [¹² Lib. 4. num. 218. Quidam deprehensus quod sederet loco nobilium, mea nobilitas, ait, est circa caput, vestra declinat ad caudam.]

reproacheth him that made him, Prov. 17. 5. and he that rejoiceth at *affliction*, shall not be unpunished [Ibidem]. For the rest, the poorer thou art, the happier thou art, *ditior est, at non melior*, saith ¹*Epictetus*, [iii. 17.] he is richer, not better, than thou art, not so free from lust, envy, hatred, ambition.

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,²

Happy he, in that he is ³freed from the tumults of the world, he seeks no honours, gapes after no preferment, flatters not, envies not, temporizeth not, but lives privately, and well contented with his estate;

Nec spes corde avidas, nec curam pascit inanem,
Securus quò fata cadant.

He is not troubled with state matters, whether Kingdoms thrive better by succession or election; whether Monarchies should be mixt, temperate, or absolute; the house of *Ottomon's* and *Austria* is all one to him; he enquires not after Colonies or new discoveries; whether *Peter* were at *Rome*, or *Constantine's* donation⁴ be of force; what comets or new stars signify, whether the earth stand or move, there be a new world in the Moon, or infinite worlds, &c. He is not touched with fear of invasions, factions or emulations.

⁵ Felix ille animi, Divisque simillimus ipsis,
Quem non mordaci respiciens gloria furo
Sollicitat, non fastosi mala gaudia luxus,
Sed tacitos sinit ire dies, et paupere cultu,
⁶ Exigit innocuè tranquilla silentia vitæ.

A happy soul, and like to God himself,
Whom not vain glory macerates or strife,
Or wicked joys of that proud swelling self,
But leads a still, poor, and contented life.

⁷ A secure, quiet, blissful state he hath, if he could acknowledge it. But here is the misery, that he will not take notice of it;

¹ Tanto beatior es quanto collector. [App. Mag. 21, p. 287.] [² Horace, Epode 9, li. 1, 3.] ³ Non amoribus inservit, non appetit honores, et qualitercunque relictus satis habet, hominem se esse meminit, invidet nemini, neminem despicit, neminem miratur, sermonibus malignis non attendit aut alitur. Plinius. [Ep. vii. 26.] [⁴ See Gibbon, D. & Fall, c. xlix.] ⁵ Politianus, in Rustico. ⁶ Gyges, regno Lydiæ inflatus, sciscitatum misit Apollinem. an quis mortalium se felicius esset. Aglaïum Arcadum pauperrimum Apollo prætulit, qui terminos agri sui nunquam excesserat, rure suo contentus. Val. lib. 1. c. 7. ⁷ Hor. [Sat. i. 6. 128, 129.] Hæc est Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique.

he repines at rich men's wealth, brave hangings, dainty fare, as *Simonides* objecteth to *Hiero*, he hath all the pleasures of the world,¹ *in lectis cburneis dormit, vinum phialis bibit, optimis unguentis delibuitur*, he knows not the affliction of *Joseph*, stretching himself on ivory beds, and singing to the sound of the viol; and it troubles him that he hath not the like; there is a difference (he grumbles) between *Laplolly*² and Pheasants, to tumble i'th' straw and lie in a down-bed, betwixt wine and water, a cottage and a palace. He hates nature (as *Pliny* characterizeth him) that she hath made him lower than a God, and is angry with the Gods that any man goes before him; and although he hath received much, yet (as *Seneca* follows it) he thinks it an injury that he hath no more, and is so far from giving thanks for his Tribuneship, that he complains he is not *Prætor*; neither doth that please him, except he may be *Consul*. Why is he not a Prince, why not a Monarch, why not an Emperor? Why should one man have so much more than his fellows, one have all, another nothing? Why should one man be a drudge or slave to another? one surfeit, another starve, one live at ease, another labour, without any hope of better fortune? Thus they grumble, mutter, and repine: not considering that inconstancy of human affairs, judicially conferring one condition with another, or well weighing their own present estate. What they are now, thou mayest shortly be; and what thou art, they shall likely be. Expect a little, confer future and times past with the present, see the event, and comfort thyself with it. It is as well to be discerned in Commonwealths, Cities, Families, as in private men's estates. *Italy* was once Lord of the world, *Rome*, the Queen of Cities, vaunted herself of two³ myriads of Inhabitants; now that all-commanding Country is possessed by petty Princes, *Rome*, a small Village in respect. *Greece*, of old the seat of civility, mother of sciences and humanity; now forlorn, the nurse of barbarism, a den of thieves. *Germany* then, saith *Tacitus*, was incult and horrid; now full of magnificent Cities. *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Carthage*,

[¹ Xenophon, *Hiero*, cap. 2.] ² Amos vi. [4, 6.] [³ This should be probably spelt loblolly, a name, especially at sea, for watergruel. There is truly a difference between gruel and pheasants as articles of diet.] ⁴ *Præfat. lib. 7.* Odit naturam quod infra Deos sit; irascitur Diis quod quis illi antecedit. ⁵ *De Ira* cap. 31. lib. 3. Et si multum acceperit, injuriam putat plura non accepisse; non agit pro tribunatu gratias, sed queritur quod non sit ad præturam perductus; neque hæc grata, si desit consulatus. ⁶ Lips. admir. ⁷ Of some 90,000 inhabitants now.

how flourishing Cities ! now buried in their own ruins : *corvorum, ferarum, aprorum, et bestiarum lustra*, like so many wildernesses, a receptacle of wild beasts. *Venice*, a poor fisher-town, *Paris, London*, small Cottages in *Cæsar's* time ; now most noble *Emporiûms*. *Valois, Plantagenet, and Scaliger*, how fortunate families ! how likely to continue ! now quite extinguished and rooted out. He stands aloft to-day, full of favour, wealth, honour, and prosperity, in the top of fortune's wheel : to-morrow in prison, worse than nothing, his son's a beggar. Thou art a poor servile drudge, *fæx populi*,¹ a very slave, thy son may come to be a Prince, with *Maximinus, Agathocles, &c.* a Senator, a General of an Army. Thou standest bare to him now, workest for him, drudgest for him and his, takest an alms of him : stay but a little, and his next heir peradventure shall consume all with riot, be degraded, thou exalted, and he shall beg of thee. Thou shalt be his most honourable Patron, he thy devout servant, his posterity shall run, ride, and do as much for thine, as it was with ²*Frescobald* and *Cromwell*, it may be for thee. Citizens devour country Gentlemen, and settle in their seats ; after two or three descents, they consume all in riot, it returns to the City again.

—————³ *Novus incola venit ;* —————
 Nam propriæ telluris herum natura, neque illum,
 Nec me, nec quenquam statuit ; nos expulit ille,
 Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris.

[A new proprietor has come, for nature
 Makes none perpetual owner of the soil.
 He has turned us out, he in turn must go
 Through his own faults, or ignorance of law.]

A Lawyer buys out his poor Client, after a while his Client's posterity buy out him and his ; so things go round, ebb and flow.

Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofellæ
 Dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
 Nunc mihi, nunc alii.⁴ ———

[Now 'tis Umbrenus' land, 'twas once Ofella's,
 But neither really owned it, only had
 Th' enjoyment of it.]

As he said then, *cujus ager, quot habes Dominos ?*⁵ so say I of land,

[¹ Cic. Q. Fr. 2. 9. 5, = the dregs of the people.] ² Read the story at large in John Fox, his *Acts and Monuments*. [Vol. ii. pp. 429-431. ed. 1684.]
³ Hor. Sat. 2. ser. lib. 2. [128-131.] [⁴ Hor. Sat. ii. ii. 133-135.] [⁵ Whose field are you, seeing that you have so many masters?]

houses, moveables and money, mine to-day, his anon, whose to-morrow? *In fine* (as ¹*Machiavel* observes) *virtue and prosperity beget rest, rest idleness, idleness riot, riot destruction, from which we come again to good Laws; good Laws engender virtuous actions, virtue glory, and prosperity; and it is no dishonour then* (as *Guicciardini* adds) *for a flourishing man, City, or State, to come to ruin,* ²*nor infelicity to be subject to the Law of nature.* *Ergo terrena calcanda, sitienda cœlestia*, therefore (I say) scorn this transitory state, look up to Heaven, think not what others are, but what thou art: ³*quâ parte locatus es in re*: and what thou shalt be, what thou mayest be. Do (I say) as Christ himself did, when he lived here on earth, imitate him as much as in thee lies. How many great *Cæsars*, mighty Monarchs, Tetrarchs, Dynasts, Princes, lived in his days, in what plenty, what delicacy, how bravely attended, what a deal of gold and silver, what treasure, how many sumptuous palaces had they, what Provinces and Cities, ample territories, fields, rivers, fountains, parks, forests, lawns, woods, cells, &c. Yet Christ had none of all this, he would have none of this, he voluntarily rejected all this, he could not be ignorant, he could not err in his choice, he contemned all this, he chose that which was safer, better, and more certain, and less to be repented, a mean estate, even poverty itself; and why dost thou then doubt to follow him, to imitate him, and his Apostles, to imitate all good men? So do thou tread in his divine steps, and thou shalt not err eternally, as too many worldlings do, that run on in their own dissolute courses, to their confusion and ruin, thou shalt not do amiss. Whatsoever thy fortune is, be contented with it, trust in him, rely on him, refer thyself wholly to him. For know this, in conclusion, *non est volentis nec currentis, sed miserentis Dei*,⁴ it is not as men, but as God will. *The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich, bringeth low, and exalteth.* (1 Sam. 2. ver. 7, 8.) *he lifteth the poor from the dust, and raiseth the beggar from the dunghill, to set them amongst Princes, and make them inherit the seat of glory;* 'tis all as he pleaseth, how, and when, and whom; he that appoints the end (though to us unknown) appoints the means likewise subordinate to the end.

Yea, but their present estate crucifies and torments most mortal men, they have no such forecast to see what may be, what shall

¹ 5 Florent. Hist. Virtus quietem parat, quies otium, otium porro luxum generat, luxus interitum, à quo iterum ad saluberrimas, &c. ² Guicciard. in Hiponest; Nulla infelicitas subjectum esse legi naturæ, &c. ³ Persius. [iii. 72.] ⁴ Rom ix. 16.¹

likely be, but what is, though not wherefore, or from whom: *hoc angit*, their present misfortunes grind their souls, and an envious eye which they cast upon other men's prosperities, *Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet*,¹ how rich, how fortunate, how happy is he! But in the mean time he doth not consider the other's miseries, his infirmities of body and mind, that accompany his estate, but still reflects upon his own false conceived woes and wants, whereas, if the matter were duly examined, ²he is in no distress at all, he hath no cause to complain.

—³tolle querelas.—

Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus,

he is not poor, [since] he is not in need. ⁴*Nature is content with bread and water; and he that can rest satisfied with that, may contend with Jupiter himself for happiness.* In that golden age, ⁵*somnus dedit umbra salubres, potum quoque lubricus amnis*, the trees gave wholesome shade to sleep under, and the clear rivers drink. The Israelites drank water in the wilderness; *Sampson, David, Saul, Abraham's* servant when he went for *Isaac's* wife, the Samaritan woman, and how many besides might I reckon up, *Egypt, Palestine*, whole countries in the ⁶*Indies*, that drink pure water all their lives. ⁷The Persian Kings themselves drank no other drink than the water of [the] *Choaspes*⁸ that runs by *Susa*, which was carried in bottles after them, whithersoever they went. *Jacob* desired no more of God, but bread to eat, and clothes to put on in his journey, *Gen.* 28. 20. *Bene est cui deus obtulit Parca quod satis est manu*; ⁹bread is enough ¹⁰*to strengthen the heart.* And if you study Philosophy aright, saith ¹¹*Madaurensis*, ¹²*whatsoever is beyond this moderation, is not useful, but troublesome.* ¹³*A. Gellius*, out of *Euripides*, accounts bread and water enough to satisfy nature, *of which there is no surfeit; the rest is not a feast, but riot.* ¹⁴*S. Hierome* esteems him rich

[¹ Ovid, A. A. 350. Their neighbour's flock is fatter.]

² Omnes divites qui

cœlo et terra frui possunt. ³ Hor. lib. i. epist. 12. [4.]

⁴ Seneca, epist. 15.

⁵ Panem et aquam natura desiderat; et hæc qui habet, ipso cum Jove de felicitate contendat. Cibus simplex famem sedat, vestis tenuis frigus arceat. Senec. epist. 8.

⁶ Boethius. [De Consolatione Philosophiæ. Lib. ii. Metrum 5.]

⁷ Muftæus et alii.

⁸ Cf. Plut. On Exile, § vi.]

⁹ Hor. Odes, iii. 16. 43.

¹⁰ Happy is he whom God has given enough with sparing hand.]

¹¹ Psal.

[civ. 15.] ¹² Si recte philosophemini, quicquid aptam moderationem supergreditur, oneri potius quam usui est. [Apuleius, Apologia, 436.]

¹³ = Apuleius, a native of Madaura.]

¹⁴ Lib. 7. 16. Cereris munus et aquæ poculum mortales quærent habere, quorum saties nunquam est; luxus autem sunt cætera, non epulæ.

¹⁵ Satis est dives qui pane non indiget; nimium potens qui servire non cogitur. Ambitiosa non est fames, &c. [Epist. 125. § 20.]

that hath bread to eat, and a potent man¹ that is not compelled to be a slave: hunger is not ambitious, so that it have to eat, and thirst doth not prefer a cup of gold. It was no *Epicurean* speech of an *Epicure*, "He that is not satisfied with a little will never have enough:" and very good counsel of him in the ¹ Poet, *O my son, mediocrity of means agrees best with men; too much is pernicious.*

Divitiæ grandes homini sunt vivere paræ
Æquo animo.²——

[Great wealth it is in man to be content
To live on little.]

And if thou canst be content, thou hast abundance, *nihil est, nihil deest*, thou hast little, thou wantest nothing. 'Tis all one to be hanged in a chain of gold, or in a rope; to be filled with dainties, or coarser meat.

³Si ventri bene, si lateri, pedibusque tuis, nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.

If belly, sides, and feet, be well at ease,
A Prince's treasure can thee no more please.

⁴*Socrates* in a Fair, seeing so many things bought and sold, such a multitude of people convened to that purpose, exclaimed forthwith, *O ye Gods, what a sight of things do not I want!* It is thy want alone that keeps thee in health of body and mind, and that which thou persecutest and abhorrest as a feral plague is thy Physician and ⁵chiefest friend, which makes thee a good man, an healthful, a sound, a virtuous, an honest, and happy man. For when *Virtue* came from Heaven (as the Poet feigns) rich men kicked her up, wicked men abhorred her, Courtiers scoffed at her, Citizens hated her,⁶ and that she was thrust out of doors in every place, she came at last to her sister Poverty, where she had found good entertainment. Poverty and Virtue dwell together.

—— O vitæ tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustique lares! ð munera nondum
Intellecta Deûm.⁷

[O safe security of poor man's cot!
O gifts of Gods though faintly understood!]

¹ Euripides, Menalip. O fili, mediocres divitiæ hominibus conveniunt, nimia vero moles pernicioſa. [² Lucret. v. 1118, 1119.] ³ Hor. [Epp. i. 12. 5. 6.]

[⁴ Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 32. 91.] ⁵ O noctes cœnæque deûm. [Hor. Sat. ii. vi. 65.]

⁶ Per mille fraudes doctosque dolos ejicitur, apud sociam paupertatem ejusque cultores divertens, in eorum sinu et tutela deliciatur. ⁷ Lucan, [v. 527, 528, 529.]

How happy art thou if thou couldst be content! *Godliness is great gain, if a man can be content with that which he hath*, 1. Tim. 6. 6; and all true happiness is in a mean estate. I have little wealth, as he said, *sed quas animus magnas facit*, a Kingdom in conceit:—

———² nil amplius opto,
Maiâ nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis;

I have enough, and desire no more.

³ Dii bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli
Fecerunt animi———

'tis very well, and to my content. *Vestem et fortunam concinnam potius quam laxam probo*; let my fortune and my garments be both alike fit for me. And which *Sebastian Foscarinus*, sometime Duke of Venice, caused to be engraven on his Tomb in Saint Mark's Church, *Hear, O ye Venetians, and I will tell you which is the best thing in the world: to condemn it*: I will engrave it in my heart, it shall be my whole study to condemn it. Let them take wealth, *stercora stercus amet*, so that I may have security; *bene qui latuit bene vixit*; ⁶ though I live obscure, ⁷ yet I live clean and honest; and when as the lofty oak is blown down, the silly reed may stand. Let them take glory, for that's their misery; let them take honour, so that I may have heart's ease. *Duc me, O Jupiter, et tu fatum*, ⁸ &c. Lead me, O God, whither thou wilt, I am ready to follow; command, I will obey. I do not envy at their wealth, titles, offices;

Stet quicunque volet potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico,
Me dulcis saturet quies,

[let who will be on power's slippery height], let me live quiet and at ease. *Erimus fortasse* (as he comforted himself) *quando illi non erunt*; when they are dead and gone, and all their pomp vanished, our memory may flourish:

———dant perennes
Stemmata non peritura Musæ.¹⁰
[The immortal Muses give undying fame.]

¹ Lip. miscell. ep. 40. ² Sat. 6. lib. 2. [4. 5.] ³ Hor. Sat. i. 4. [17. 18.]
⁴ Apuleius, [Apologia, p. 436, memoriter.] Chytræus, in Europæ deliciis.
Accipite, cives Veneti, quod est optimum in rebus humanis, res humanas contemnere. ⁶ Ovid, Tr. iii. iv. 25.] ⁷ Vahl vivere etiam nunc lubet, as Demea said, Adelph. Act. iii. [Sc. iii. 92.] Quam multis non egeo, quam multa non desidero, ut Socrates in pompa, ille in nudinis. ⁸ Epictetus, 77. cap. Quo sum destinatus, et sequar alacriter. ⁹ Puteanus, ep. 62. ¹⁰ Marullus.

Let him be my Lord, Patron, Baron, Earl,¹ and possess so many goodly Castles, it is well for me ¹ that I have a poor house, and a little wood, and a well by it, &c.

His me consolator victurum suavius, ac si

Quæstor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.²

I live, I thank God, as merrily as he, and triumph as much in this my mean estate, as if my Father and Uncle had been Lord Treasurer, or my Lord Mayor. He feeds of many dishes, I of one; ³ *qui Christum curat, non multum curat quam de pretiosis cibis stercus conficiat*: what care I of what stuff my excrements be made? ⁴ *He that lives according to nature cannot be poor, and he that exceeds can never have enough*: *totus non sufficit orbis*,⁵ the whole world cannot give him content. *A small thing that the righteous hath, is better than the riches of the ungodly*, Psal. 37. 19. *And better is a poor morsel with quietness than abundance with strife*, Prov. 17. 7.

Be content then, enjoy thyself, and, as ⁶ *Chrysostom* adviseth, *be not angry for what thou hast not, but give God hearty thanks for what thou hast received*.

⁷ Si dat oluscula

Mensa minuscula

Pace referta,

Ne pete grandia,

Lautaque prandia

Lite repleta.

[If scanty herbs thou canst with peace enjoy,
Seek not for richer cates mixed with annoy.]

But what wantest thou, to expostulate the matter? or what hast thou not better than a rich man? ⁸ *Health, competent wealth, children, security, sleep, friends, liberty, diet, apparel, and what not*, or at least mayest have (the means being so obvious, easy, and well known) for as he inculcated to himself,

⁹ Vitam quæ faciunt beatorem,

Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt;

Res non parva labore, sed relictæ,

Lis nunquam, &c.

¹ Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magrus, Hortus ubi et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons, et paulum silvæ, &c. Hor. Sat. 6. lib. 2. Ser. [1, 2.] [² Hor. Sat. i. vi. 130, 131.]

³ Hieronym. [Epist. 58. § 6.]

⁴ Seneca, consil. ad Albinum c. 11. Qui continet se intra naturæ limites, paupertatem non sentit; qui excedit, eum in opibus paupertas sequitur. [⁵ Juv. x. 168. memoriter.]

⁶ Hom. 12. Pro his quæ accepisti gratias age, noli indignare pro his quæ non accepisti.

⁷ Nat. Chytræus, deliciis Europ. Gustonii in ædibus Hubianis in cœnaculo è regione mense.

⁸ Quid non habet melius pauper quam dives? vitam, valetudinem, cibum, somnum, libertatem, &c. Cardan. [De Consolatione, Lib. iii.]

⁹ Martial. l. 10. epig. 47. Read it out thyself in the author.

I say again thou hast, or at least mayest have it, if thou wilt thyself, and that which I am sure he wants, a merry heart. *Passing by a village in the territory of Milan, saith 'S. Austin, I saw a poor beggar that had got, belike, his belly full of meat, jesting and merry; I sighed, and said to some of my friends that were then with me, What a deal of trouble, madness, pain and grief do we sustain and exaggerate unto ourselves, to get that secure happiness, which this poor beggar hath prevented us of, and which we peradventure shall never have! For that which he hath now attained with the begging of some small pieces of silver, a temporal happiness, and present heart's ease, I cannot compass with all my careful windings, and running in and out. 'And surely the beggar was very merry, but I was heavy: he was secure, but I was timorous. And if any man should ask me now, Whether I had rather be merry, or still so solicitous and sad, I should say, Merry. If he should ask me again, Whether I had rather be as I am, or as this beggar was, I should sure choose to be as I am, tortured still with cares and fears; but out of peevishness, and not out of truth.* That which S. Austin said of himself here in this place, I may truly say to thee; thou discontented wretch, thou covetous niggard, thou churl, thou ambitious and swelling toad, 'tis not want, but peevishness, which is the cause of thy woes; settle thine affection, thou hast enough.

³ Denique sit finis querendi, quoque habeas plus,
Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
Incipias; parto, quod avebas, utere.

Make an end of scraping, purchasing this Manor, this field, that house, for this and that child; thou hast enough for thyself and them;

————— ⁴ quod petis hic est,
Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus,

'tis at hand, at home already, which thou so earnestly seekest. But

————— O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!⁵

That I had but one nook of ground, that field there, that pasture!

¹ Confess. lib. 6. Transiens per vicum quendam Mediolanensem, animadverti pauperem quendam mendicum, jam credo saturum, jocantem atque ridentem, et ingemui, et locutus sum cum amicis qui mecum erant, &c. [cap. 5.] ² Et certe ille lætabatur, ego anxius; securus ille, ego trepidus. Et si percontaretur me quispiam an exultare mallet, an metuere, responderem, exultare: et si rursus interrogaret an ego talis essem, an qualis nunc sum, me ipsi curis confectum eligerem; sed perversitate, non veritate. [Ibid.] ³ Hor. [Sat. i. i. 92-94.]

⁴ Hor. Ep. lib. i. [11. 29, 30.] ⁵ Hor. Sat. ii. 6, 8, 9.]

O si urnam argenti fors quæ mihi monstret¹——

O that I could but find a pot of money now, to purchase, &c. to build me a new house, to marry my daughter, place my son, &c. ²*O if I might but live a while longer to see all things settled, some two or three years, I would pay my debts, make all my reckonings even; but they are come and past, and thou hast more business than before. O madness! to think to settle that in thine old age when thou hast more, which in thy youth thou canst not now compose, having but a little.* ³*Pyrrhus* would first conquer *Africa*, and then *Asia*, et tum suaviter agere, and then live merrily, and take his ease: but when *Cineas* the Orator told him he might do that already, id jam posse fieri, rested satisfied, condemning his own folly. Si parva licet componere magnis,⁴ thou mayest do the like, and therefore be composed in thy fortune. Thou hast enough; he that is wet in a bath, can be no more wet if he be flung into *Tiber*, or into the *Ocean* itself; and if thou hadst all the world, or a solid mass of gold, as big as the world, thou canst not have more than enough; enjoy thyself at length, and that which thou hast; the mind is all; be content, thou art not poor, but rich, and so much the richer, as ⁵*Censorinus* well writ to *Cerellius*, quanto pauciora optas, non quo plura possides, in wishing less, not having more. I say then, non adice opes, sed minue cupiditates ('tis ⁶*Epicurus*' advice) add no more wealth, but diminish thy desires; and, as ⁷*Chrysostom* well seconds him, si vis dilari, contemne divitias; that's true plenty, not to have, but not to want riches, non habere, sed non indigere, vera abundantia; 'tis more glory to contemn than to possess; et nihil egere est Deorum. How many deaf, dumb, halt, lame, blind, miserable persons, could I reckon up that are poor, and withal distressed, in imprisonment, banishment, galley-slaves, condemned to the mines, quarries, to gyves, in dungeons, perpetual thralldom, than all which thou art richer,

[¹ Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 10.] ² O si nunc morefer, inquit, quanta et qualia mihi imperfecta manerent: sed si mensibus decem vel octo supervivexero, omnia redigam ad libellum; ab omni debito creditoque me explicabo. Prætereunt interim ætates decem et octo, et cum illis anni, et adhuc restant plura quam prius. Quid igitur speras, O insane, finem, quem rebus tuis non inveneras in juvenuta, in senecta impositurum? O dementiam! quum ob curas et negotia tuo judicio sis infelix, quid putas futurum, quum plura supererint? Cardan. lib. 8. cap. 40. de rer. var. ³ Plutarch, [Vita Pyrrhi, § 14.] [⁴ Virg. G. iv. 176. If we may compare small things with great.] ⁵ Lib. de natali. cap. 1. ⁶ Apud Stobæum ser. 17. ⁷ Hom. 12. in 2.

thou art more happy,¹ to whom thou art able to give an alms, a Lord, in respect, a petty Prince! 'Be contented then, I say, repine and mutter no more, *for thou art not poor indeed, but in opinion.*

Yea, but this is very good counsel, and rightly applied to such as have it, and will not use it, that have a competency, that are able to work and get their living by the sweat of their brows, by their trade, that have something yet; he that hath birds may catch birds; but what shall we do that are slaves by nature, impotent, and unable to help ourselves, mere beggars, that languish and pine away, that have no means at all, no hope of means, no trust of delivery, or of better success? as those old *Britons* complained to their Lords and Masters the *Romans*, oppressed by the *Picts*, *mare ad Barbaros, Barbari ad mare*, the *Barbarians* drove them to the sea, the sea drove them back to the *Barbarians*; our present misery compels us to cry out and howl, to make our moan to rich men; they turn us back with a scornful answer to our misfortune again, and will take no pity of us; they commonly overlook their poor friends in adversity; if they chance to meet them, they voluntarily forget, and will take no notice of them; they will not, they cannot, help us. Instead of comfort, they threaten us, miscall, scoff at us, to aggravate our misery; give us bad language, or, if they do give good words, what's that to relieve us? According to that of *Thales*, *facile est alios monere*;² who cannot give good counsel? 'tis cheap, it costs them nothing. It is an easy matter when one's belly is full to declaim against feasting; *Qui satur est pleno laudat jejunia ventre*.³ *Doth the wild Ass bray when he hath grass, or loweth the Ox when he hath fodder?* Job 6. 5. *'Neque enim populo Romano quidquam potest esse laetius*, no men living so jocund, so merry, as the people of *Rome* when they had plenty; but when they came to want, to be hunger-starved, *neither shame, nor laws, nor arms, nor Magistrates could keep them in obedience.* *Seneca* pleadeth hard for poverty, and so did those lazy Philosophers: but in the mean time⁴ he was rich, they had wherewithal to maintain themselves; but doth any poor man extol it? There

¹ Non in paupertate, sed in paupere (*Senec.*), non re, sed opinione laboras. [Excerpta ex libris *Senecæ*.] ² See *Erasmi Adagia*, 249, D.] ³ *Baptista Mantuanus*, Ecl. i.] ⁴ *Vopiscus*, *Aureliano*. [cap. 47.] Sed si populus famelicus inedia laboret, nec arma, leges, pudor, magistratus, coercere valent. ⁵ One of the richest men in *Rome*.

are those (saith ¹ Bernard) that approve of a mean estate, but on that condition they never want themselves; and some again are meek, so long as they may say or do what they list; but if occasion be offered, how far are they from all patience! I would to God (as he said)² no man should commend poverty, but he that is poor, or he that so much admires it, would relieve, help, or ease others.

³ Nunc si nos audis, atque es divinus, Apollo,
Dic mihi, qui nummos non habet, unde petat;

Now if thou hear'st us, and art a good man,
Tell him that wants, to get means, if you can.

But no man hears us, we are most miserably dejected, the scum of the world,

⁴ Vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum.

We can get no relief, no comfort, no succour,

⁵ Et nihil inveni quod mihi ferret opem.

We have tried all means, yet find no remedy: no man living can express the anguish and bitterness of our souls, but we that endure it; we are distressed, forsaken, in torture of body and mind, in another Hell: and what shall we do? When ⁶Crassus, the Roman Consul, warred against the Parthians, after an unlucky battle fought, he fled away in the night, and left four thousand men, sore sick and wounded in his tents, to the fury of the enemy, which when the poor men perceived, *clamoribus et ululatibus omnia complêrunt*, they made lamentable moan, and roared down-right, as loud as *Homer's Mars* when he was hurt, which the noise of 10,000 men could not drown,⁷ and all for fear of present death. But our estate is far more tragical and miserable, much more to be deplored, and far greater cause have we to lament; the Devil and the world persecute us, all good fortune hath forsaken us, we are left to the rage of beggary, cold, hunger, thirst, nastiness, sickness, irksomeness, to continual torment, labour and pain, to derision and contempt, bitter enemies all, and far worse than any death; death

¹ Serm. Quidam sunt qui pauperes esse volunt ita ut nihil illis desit; sic commendant ut nullam patiantur inopiam; sunt et alii mites, quamdiu dicitur et agitur ad eorum arbitrium, &c. ² Nemo paupertatem commendaret nisi pauper.

³ Petronius Catalec. ⁴ Ovid. [Ex Ponto, ii. 7. 42.] There is scarce a possibility of a new blow. ⁵ Ovid. [Ex Ponto, ii. 7. 46.] ⁶ Plutarch. vit. Crassi. [§ 27.] ⁷ Iliad, v. 858-860.]

alone we desire, death we seek, yet cannot have it, and what shall we do?

Quod malè fers, assuesce ; feres bene¹——

accustom thyself to it, and it will be tolerable at last. Yea, but I may not, I cannot,

In me consumpsit vires fortuna nocendo,²

I am in the extremity of human adversity ; and, as a shadow leaves the body when the Sun is gone, I am now left and lost, and quite forsaken of the world. *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat ;*³ comfort thyself with this yet, thou art at the worst, and, before it be long, it will either overcome thee, or thou it. If it be violent, it cannot endure, *aut solvetur, aut solvet* :⁴ let the Devil himself and all the plagues of *Egypt* come upon thee at once,

Ne tu cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,⁵

be of good courage ; misery is virtue's whetstone.

—————⁶ *Serpens, sitis, ardor, arenæ,
Dulcia virtuti,*

as *Cato* told his soldiers marching in the deserts of *Libya*, thirst, heat, sands, serpents, were pleasant to a valiant man ; honourable enterprizes are accompanied with dangers and damages, as experience evinceth ; they will make the rest of thy life relish the better. But put case they continue, thou art not so poor as thou wast born, and, as some hold, much better to be pitied than envied. But be it so thou hast lost all, poor thou art, dejected, in pain of body, grief of mind, thine enemies insult over thee, thou art as bad as *Job* ; yet tell me (saith *Chrysostom*) *was Job or the Devil the greater conqueror ? surely Job. The " Devil had his goods, he sate on the muck-hill, and kept his good name ; he lost his children, health, friends, but he kept his innocency ; he lost his money, but he kept his confidence in God, which was better than any treasure. Do thou, then as Job did, triumph as Job did, " and be not molested " as every fool is. Sed qua ratione potero ?* [But] how shall this be done?

[¹ Ovid, *A. A.* ii. 647.]

[² Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 697, 698, *memoriter*.]

[³ He that is on the ground need fear no fall.]

[⁴ Seneca, *De Provid.* vi.]

[⁵ Virg. *Æn.* vi. 95.]

[⁶ Lucan. lib. 9. [402, 403.]

[⁷ An quum super fimo

sedit Job, an cum omnia abstulit Diabolus, &c., pecuniis privatus fiduciam Deo habuit, omni thesauro pretiosiore. ⁸ Hæc videntes sponte philosophemini,

nec insipientum affectibus agitemur. [⁹ Troubled, annoyed.]

Chrysostom answers, *facile, si cælum cogitaveris*, with great facility, if thou shalt but meditate on Heaven. ¹*Hannah* wept sore, and, troubled in mind, could not eat; but, *why weepest thou?* said *Elkanah* her husband, *and why eatest thou not? why is thine heart troubled? am not I better to thee than ten sons?* and she was quiet. Thou art here ²vexed in this world; but say to thyself, *Why art thou troubled, O my soul?* Is not God better to thee than all temporalities, and momentary pleasures of the world? be then pacified. And though thou beest now peradventure in extreme want, ³it may be 'tis for thy further good, to try thy patience, as it did *Job's*, and exercise thee in this life: trust in God, and rely upon Him, and thou shalt be ⁴crowned in the end. What's this life to eternity? The world hath forsaken thee, thy friends and fortunes all are gone: yet know this, that the very hairs of thine head are numbered, that God is a spectator of all thy miseries, He sees thy wrongs, woes and wants. ⁵*'Tis His good will and pleasure it should be so, and He knows better what is for thy good than thou thyself.* His providence is over all, at all times; *he hath set a guard of Angels over us, and keeps us as the apple of his eye*, Ps. 17. 8. Some he doth exalt, prefer, bless with worldly riches, honours, offices and preferments, as so many glistering stars he makes to shine above the rest: some he doth miraculously protect from thieves, incursions, sword, fire, and all violent mischances, and, as the ⁶Poet feigns of that *Lycian Pandarus, Lycaon's son*, when he shot at *Menelaus* the *Grecian* with a strong arm, and deadly arrow, *Pallas*, as a good mother keeps flies from her child's face asleep, turned by the shaft, and made it hit on the buckle of his girdle; so some he solicitously defends, others he exposeth to danger, poverty, sickness, want, misery, he chastiseth and corrects, as to him seems best, in his deep, unsearchable and secret judgement, and all for our good. *The Tyrant took the City* (saith ⁷*Chrysostom*) *God did not hinder it; led them away captives, so God would have it; he bound them, God yielded to it; flung them into the furnace,*

¹ 1 Sam. i. 8. ² James i. 2. "My brethren, count it an exceeding joy, when you fall into divers temptations." ³ Afflictio dat intellectum. Quos Deus diligit, castigat. [Heb. 12. 6.] Deus optimum quemque aut mala valetudine aut luctu afficit. Seneca. [De Providentia, c. iv.] ⁴ Quam sordet mihi terra quum cælum intueor. ⁵ Senec. de providentia, cap. 2. Diis ita visum, Dii melius norunt quid sit in commodum meum. ⁶ Hom. Iliad. [4. 122-140.] ⁷ Hom. 9. Voluit urbem tyrannus evertere, et Deus non prohibuit; voluit captivos ducere, non impedivit; voluit ligare, concessit; &c.

God permitted it; heated the Oven hotter, it was granted: and when the Tyrant had done his worst, God shewed his power, and the children's patience, he freed them: so can he thee, and can ¹help in an instant, when it seems to him good. ²Rejoice not against me, O my enemy; for though I fall, I shall rise: when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall lighten me. Remember all those Martyrs, what they have endured, the utmost that human rage and fury could invent, with what ³patience they have borne, with what willingness embraced it. *Though he kill me, saith Job, I will trust in him.*⁴ *Justus*⁵ *inexpugnabilis*, as *Chrysostom* holds, a just man is impregnable, and not to be overcome. The gout may hurt his hands, lameness his feet, convulsions may torture his joints, but not *rectam mentem*, [his upright mind,] his soul is free.

————— ⁶Nempe, pecus, rem,
Lectos, argentum totas licet; in mœnibus et
Compedibus sævo teneas custode. —

⁷*Take away his money, his treasure is in Heaven; banish him his Country, he is an inhabitant of that heavenly Jerusalem; cast him into bonds, his conscience is free; kill his body, it shall rise again; he fights with a shadow that contends with an upright man: he will not be moved.*

————— Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae: ⁸

though Heaven itself should fall on his head, he will not be offended. He is impenetrable, as an anvil hard, as constant as *Job*.

⁹*Ipsæ deus simul atque volet me solvet, opinor.*
[God can deliver me when he will, I ween.]

Be thou such a one; let thy misery be what it will, what it can, with patience endure it, thou mayest be restored as he was. *Terris proscriptus, ad cælum propera; ab hominibus desertus, ad*

¹ Psal. cxlii. [7.] De terra inopem, de stercore erigit pauperem.

² Micah,

vii. 8. ³ Preme, preme, ego cum Pindaro, ἀβαπτιστός εἰμι φίλος ὡς ὑπὲρ ἑρκὸς ἀλμυρῶν. [Pind. Pyth. ii. 146.] immersibilis sum, sicut suber super maris septum.

Lipsius. [⁴ Job. xlii. 15.] ⁵ Hic ure, hic seca, ut in æternum parcas, Austin. Diis fruitur iratis, superat et crescit malis. Mucium ignis, Fabricium paupertas, Regulum tormenta, Socratem venenum, superare non potuit. ⁶ Hor. Epist. 16.

lib. 1. [75-77, last line memoriter.] ⁷ Hom. 5. Auferet pecunias? at habet in cœlis: patriâ dejiciet, at in cœlestem civitatem mittet: vincula injiciet? at habet solutam conscientiam: corpus interficiet, at iterum resurget; cum umbra pugnat qui cum justo pugnat. [⁸ Hor. Odes, iii. iii. 7, 8.] ⁹ Leonides.

Deum fuge. The poor shall not always be forgotten, the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever, Psal. 9. 18. vers. 9. The Lord will be a refuge of the oppressed, and a defence in the time of trouble.

Servus Epictetus, mutilati corporis, Irus
Pauper: at hæc inter carus erat Superis.¹

Lame was Epictetus, and poor Irus,
Yet to them both God was propitious.

Lodovicus Vertomannus, that famous traveller, endured much misery, yet surely, saith *Scaliger*, he was *vir Deo carus*, [a man dear to God,] in that he did escape so many dangers, God especially protected him, he was dear unto him. *Modo in egestate, tribulatione, convulle deplorationis, &c. Thou art now in the vale of misery, in poverty, in agony, in temptation; rest, eternally, happiness, immortality, shall be thy reward, as Chrysostom pleads, if thou trust in God, and keep thine innocence. Non si malè nunc, et olim sic erit semper; a good hour may come upon a sudden; expect a little.*

Yea, but this expectation is it which tortures me in the mean time; *futura exspectans præsentibus angor*,² whilst the grass grows, the horse starves; ³despair not, but hope well,

¶ Spera, Battè, tibi melius lux crastina ducet:
Dum spiras spera ———

[Hope, Battus, while you live: to-morrow's light
May bring improvement.]

Cheer up, I say, be not dismayed; *Spes alit agricolas, he that sows in tears, shall reap in joy, Psal. 126. 5.*

Si fortune me tormento,
Esperance me contente.

Hope refresheth, as much as misery depresseth; hard beginnings have many times prosperous events, and that may happen at last, which never was yet. *A desire accomplished delights the soul, Prov. 13. 19.*

[¹ See the original Greek of these lines in Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. ii. 18.]
² *Modo in pressura, in tentationibus, erit postea bonum tuum requies, æternitas, immortalitas.* [³ Hor. Odes, ii. x. 17, 18. If it is bad with thee now, it doesn't follow it will be so always.] ⁴ *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.* [Virg. Æn. i. 199.]
[⁵ Cic. de Fin. i. 18. 60. Burton wrongly assigns it to Seneca.] ⁶ *Nemo desperet meliora lapsus.* [Seneca, Thyestes, 3616.] ⁷ Theocritus. [Idyll. iv. 41, 42.] [⁸ Tibullus, ii. 6. 21. Hope cheers the farmers.]

¹Grata superveniet quæ non sperabitur hora :

Which makes m' enjoy my joys long wish'd at last,
Welcome that hour shall come when hope is past.

A lowering morning may turn to a fair afternoon,

²Nube solet pulsâ candidus ire dies.

The hope that is deferr'd, is the fainting of the heart, but when the desire cometh, it is a tree of life, Prov. 13. 12, ³suavissimum est voti compos fieri. Many men are both wretched and miserable at first, but afterwards most happy, and oftentimes it so falls out, as 'Machiavel relates of Cosmo de Medici, that fortunate and renowned Citizen of Europe, that all his youth was full of perplexity, danger and misery, till forty years were past, and then upon a sudden the Sun of his honour brake out as through a cloud. Hunniades was fetched out of prison, and Henry the Third of Portugal out of a poor Monastery, to be crowned Kings.

Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra.⁵

[There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.]

Beyond all hope and expectation many things fall out, and who knows what may happen? *Nondum omnium dierum Soles occiderunt, as Philippus said,⁶ all the Suns are not yet set, a day may come to make amends for all. Though my Father and Mother forsake me, yet the Lord will gather me up, Psal. 27. 10. Wait patiently on the Lord, and hope in him, Psal. 37. 7. Be strong, hope and trust in the Lord, and he will comfort thee, and give thee thine heart's desire, Psal. 27. 14.*

Sperate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.⁷

[Hope, and reserve yourselves for better days.]

Fret not thyself because thou art poor, contemned, or not so well for the present as thou wouldest be, not respected as thou oughtest to be, by birth, place, worth; or that which is a double corrosive, thou hast been happy, honourable and rich, art now distressed and poor, a scorn of men, a burden to the world, irksome to thyself and others, thou hast lost all. *Miserum est fuisse felicem, and, as*

[¹ Hor. Epp. i. 4. 14.] ² Ovid. [il. Tr. 142.] ³ Thales. ⁴ Lib. 7. Flor. Hist. Omnium felicissimus, et locupletissimus, &c., Incarceratus sæpe adolescentiam periculo mortis habuit, sollicitudinis et discriminis plenam, &c. [⁵ Erasmii Adagia, pp. 181, 2.] [⁶ Livy. 39. 26.] [⁷ Virg. Æn. i. 207, quoted memoriter.]

Boethius ¹ calls it, *infelicissimum genus infortunii*; this made *Timon* half mad with melancholy, to think of his former fortunes and present misfortunes; this alone makes many miserable wretches discontent. I confess it is a great misery to have been happy, the quintessence of infelicity, to have been honourable and rich, but yet easily to be endured, ²security succeeds, and to a judicious man a far better estate. The loss of thy goods and money is no loss; ³*thou hast lost them, they would otherwise have lost thee*. If thy money be gone, ⁴*thou art so much the lighter*, and, as Saint *Hierome* persuades *Rusticus* the Monk to forsake all and follow *Christ*: ⁵*gold and silver are too heavy metals for him to carry that seeks Heaven*.

⁶ Vel nos in mare proximum,
Geminas et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiam mali
Mittamus, scelerum si bene pœnitet.⁷

Zeno the Philosopher lost all his goods by shipwreck; ⁸he made like of it, fortune had done him a good turn, *opes à me, animum auferre non potest*: ⁹she can take away my means, but not my mind. He set her at defiance ever after, for she could not rob him that had nought to lose: for he was able to condemn more than they could possess or desire. *Alexander* sent an hundred talents of gold to *Phocion* of *Athens* for a present, because he heard he was a good man: but *Phocion* returned his talents back again with a *permitte me in posterum virum bonum esse*, [permit me] to be a good man still; let me be as I am.

Non mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium ¹⁰——

That *Theban Crates* flung of his own accord his money into the Sea, *abite nummi, ego vos mergam, ne mergar à vobis*, I had rather drown you, than you should drown me.¹¹ Can *Stoicks* and *Epicures* thus condemn wealth, and shall not we that are Christians? It was *mascula vox et præclara*, a generous speech of *Cotta* in

[¹ De Consol. Philosoph. l. ii. Par. 4.] ² Lætior successit securitas quæ simul cum divitiis cohabitare nescit. Camden. ³ Pecuniam perdidisti, fortassis illa te perderet manens. Seneca. [Excerpta e libris Senecæ.] ⁴ Expeditior es ob pecuniarum jacturam. Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest. Seneca. [Med. 176.] [⁵ Epistle 125.] ⁶ Hor. [Let us cast our jewels and gems, and useless gold, the cause of all vice, into the sea, if we truly repent of our misdoings.] [⁷ Hor. Odes, iii. xxiv. 47-50.] ⁸ Jubet me posthac fortuna expeditius Philosophari. [Seneca, De Animi Tranquillitate, cap. xiv.] [⁹ Sen. Medea, 176.] [¹⁰ I ask not gold, nor any reward. Plut. Life of Phocion, c. 18.] [¹¹ Diogenes Laërtius, Lib. vi. cap. 5.]

¹ Sallust, *Many miseries have happened unto me at home, and in the wars abroad, of which, by the help of God, some I have endured, some I have repelled, and by mine own valour overcome: courage was never wanting to my designs, nor industry to my intents: prosperity or adversity could never alter my disposition.* A wise man's mind, as Seneca holds,² ³ *is like the state of the world above the Moon, ever serene.* Come then what can come, befall what may befall, *infractum invictumque*⁴ *animum opponas:*⁵ *Rebus angustis animosus atque fortis appare;*⁶ (*Hor. Od. 11. lib. 2.*) Hope and Patience are two sovereign remedies for all, the surest reposals, the softest cushions to lean on in adversity;

⁷ Durum: sed levius fit patientiâ

Quicquid corrigere est nefas.

[Say it be hard, yet patience makes that lighter
That cannot be amended.]

If it cannot be helped, or amended,⁸ make the best of it; ⁹ *necessitati qui se accommodat, sapit*, he is wise that suits himself to the time. As at a game at tables, so do by all such inevitable accidents.

¹⁰ Ita vita est hominum, quasi cum ludas tesseris,

Si illud quod est maxime opus jactu non cadit,

Illud quod cecidit fortè, id arte ut corrigas;

If thou canst not fling what thou wouldest, play thy cast as well as thou canst. Every thing, saith ¹¹ *Epictetus*, ¹² hath two handles, the one to be held by, the other not: 'tis in our choice to take and leave whether we will (all which *Simplicius*, his [Epictetus'] Commentator, hath illustrated by many examples) and 'tis in our own power, as they say, to make or mar ourselves. Conform thyself then to thy present fortune, and cut thy coat according to thy cloth, ¹³ *Ut quimus, aiunt, quando ut volumus non licet, be contented with thy lot*, state, and calling, whatsoever it is, and rest as well satisfied with thy present condition in this life.

• In frag. Quirites, multa mihi pericula domi, militiæ multa adversa fuere, quorum alia toleravi, alia deorum auxilio repuli et virtute mea; nunquam animus negotio defuit, nec decretis labor; nullæ res nec prosperæ nec adversæ ingenium mutabant. [² Epistle 59.] ³ Qualis mundi status supra lunam semper seren.

⁴ Bona mens nullum tristioris fortunæ recipit incursum, Val. lib. 4. c. 1. Qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil. [⁵ Meet it with an unbroken and unconquerable courage.] [⁶ In adversity be spirited and bold.] ⁷ Hor. [Odes, i. 24. 19, 20.] ⁸ Æquam memento rebus in arduis Servare mentem. lib. 2. Od. 3.

⁹ Epict. c. 18. ¹⁰ Ter. Adelph. Act. 4. Sc. 7. [21-23.] ¹¹ Unaquæque res duas habet ansas, alteram quæ teneri, alteram quæ non potest; in manu nostra quam volumus accipere. [¹² Enchiridion, § 43.] ¹³ Ter. And. Act. 4. Sc. 5. [10.]

Esto quod es ; quod sunt alii, sine quemlibet esse ;
Quod non es, nolis ; quod potes esse, velis.¹

Be as thou art ; and as they are, so let
Others be still ; what is and may be, covet.

And as he that is ²invited ³to a feast eats what is set before him, and looks for no other, enjoy that thou hast, and ask no more of God than what he thinks fit to bestow upon thee. *Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum*,⁴ we may not be all Gentlemen, all *Catos*, or *Laelii*, as *Tully* telleth us, all honourable, illustrious, and serene, all rich ; but because mortal men want many things, ⁵therefore, saith *Theodoret*, hath God diversely distributed his gifts, wealth to one, skill to another, that rich men might encourage and set poor men a work, poor men might learn several trades to the common good. As a piece of arras is composed of several parcels, some wrought of silk, some of gold, silver, crewel of divers colours, all to serve for the exornation of the whole ; [as] Musick is made of divers discords and keys ; a total sum of many small numbers : so is a Common-wealth of several unequal trades and callings. ⁶If all should be *Cræsi* and *Darii*, all idle, all in fortunes equal, who should till the land ? as ⁷*Menenius Agrippa* well satisfied the tumultuous rout of *Rome* in his elegant Apologue of the belly and the rest of the members. Who should build houses, make our several stuffs for raiments ? We should all be starved for company, as *Poverty* declared at large in *Aristophanes' Plutus*, and sue at last to be as we were at first. And therefore God hath appointed this inequality of States, orders and degrees, a subordination, as in all other things. The earth yields nourishment to vegetals, sensible creatures feed on vegetals, both are substitutes to reasonable souls, and men are subject amongst themselves, and all to higher powers : so God would have it. All things then being rightly examined, and duly considered as they ought, there is no such cause of so general discontent, 'tis not in the matter itself, but in our mind, as we moderate our passions, and esteem of things. *Nihil aliud*

[¹ On an earlier page Burton says these lines are Hesiod.] [² Epict. Frag. 35.]
³ Epictetus. Invitatus ad convivium, quæ apponuntur comedis, non quærēs ultra ; in mundo multa rogitas quæ Dii negant. [⁴ Hor. Epp. i. 17. 36. All have not got the luck to visit Corinth.] ⁵ Cap. 6. de providentia. Mortales cum sint rerum omnium indigi, ideo Deus aliis divitias, aliis paupertatem distribuit, ut qui opibus pollent materiam subministrent ; qui vero inopes exercitatus artibus manus admoveant. ⁶ Si sint omnes æquales, necesse est ut omnes fame pereant ; quis aratro terram sulcaret ? quis sementem faceret ? quis plantas sereret ? quis vinum exprimeret ? ⁷ Liv. lib. [ii. 32.]

necessarium ut sis miser (saith ¹*Cardan*) *quam ut te miserum credas*. Let thy fortune be what it will, 'tis thy mind alone that makes thee poor or rich, miserable or happy. *Vidi ego* (saith divine *Seneca*) *in villâ hilari et amœnâ mæstos, et mediâ solitudine occupatos; non locus sed animus facit ad tranquillitatem*.² I have seen men miserably dejected in a pleasant village, and some again well occupied and at good ease in a solitary desert; 'tis the mind, not the place, causeth tranquillity, and that gives true content. I will yet add a word or two for a corollary. Many rich men, I dare boldly say it, that lie on down-beds, with delicacies pampered every day, in their well furnished houses, live at less heart's ease, with more anguish, more bodily pain, and through their intemperance more bitter hours, than many a prisoner or galley-slave. ³*Mæcenâ in pluvîâ æquè vigilat ac Regulus in dolio*.⁴ Those poor starved *Hollanders*, whom ⁵*Bartison* their Captain left in *Nova Zembla*, An. 1596, or those ⁶eight miserable Englishmen that were lately left behind to winter in a stove in *Greenland* in 77 deg. of lat. 1630, so pitifully forsaken and forced to shift for themselves in a vast dark and desert place, to strive and struggle with hunger, cold, desperation, and death itself. 'Tis a patient and quiet mind (I say it again and again) gives true peace and content. So for all other things, they are, as old ⁷*Chremes* told us, as we use them.

Parentes, patriam, amicos, genus, cognatos, divitias,
Hæc perinde sunt ac illius animus qui ea possidet;
Qui uti seit, ei bona; qui utitur non recte, mala.

Parents, friends, fortunes, country, birth, alliance, &c. ebb and flow with our conceit; please or displease, as we accept and construe them, or apply them to ourselves. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*,⁸ and in some sort I may truly say prosperity and adversity are in our own hands. *Nemo læditur nisi à seipso*,⁹ and, which *Seneca* confirms out of his judgement and experience, ¹⁰*every man's mind is stronger than fortune, and leads him to what side he will; a cause to himself each one is of his good or bad life*. But will we, or nill we,

¹ Lib. 3. De consolat. ² Epistle 55. ³ Seneca. [De Providentia, cap. iii.]
[⁴ Mæcenâ sleeps no better on down than Regulus in his barrel.] ⁵ Vide
Isaacum Pontanum, Descript. Amsterdam. lib. 2. c. 22. ⁶ Vide Ed. Pelham's
book, edit. 1630. ⁷ Heautontim. Act. 1. Sc. 2. [20-22.] ⁸ App. ap. Sall. de
Rep. Ord. 1. Every one is the architect of his own fortune.] ⁹ See Erasmi
Adagia, p. 856, B. No one is hurt except by himself.] ¹⁰ Epist. 98. Omni
fortuna valentior ipse animus, in utramque partem res suas ducit, beatæque ac
miseræ vitæ sibi causa est.

make the worst of it, and suppose a man in the greatest extremity, 'tis a fortune which some indefinitely prefer before prosperity ; of two extremes, it is the best. *Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis*,¹ men in ² prosperity forget God and themselves, they are besotted with their wealth, as birds with henbane : ³ miserable, if fortune forsake them, but more miserable if she tarry and overwhelm them : for when they come to be in great place, rich, they that were most temperate, sober and discreet, in their private fortunes, as *Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Heliogabalus (optimi imperatores nisi imperassent)* ⁴ degenerate on a sudden into brute beasts, so prodigious in lust, such tyrannical oppressors, &c. they cannot moderate themselves, they become Monsters, odious, Harpies, what not? *cum triumphos, opes, honores adepti sunt, ad voluptatem & otium deinceps se convertunt* : 'twas ⁵ Cato's note, they cannot contain. For that cause belike,

⁶ Eutrapelus cuicumque nocere volebat
Vestimenta dabat pretiosa ; beatus enim jam
Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
Dormiet in lucem, seorto postponet honestum
Officium.——

Eutrapelus, when he would hurt a knave,
Gave him gay clothes and wealth to make him brave ;
Because now rich he would quite change his mind,
Keep whores, fly out, set honesty behind.

On the other side, in adversity many mutter and repine, despair, &c. both bad I confess,

—— ⁷ ut calceus olim,
Si pede major erit, subvertet : si minor, uret,

as a shoe too big, or too little, one pincheth, the other sets the foot awry, *sed à malis minimum*.⁸ If adversity hath killed his thousand, prosperity hath killed his ten thousand : therefore adversity is to be preferred ; ⁹ *hæc frano indiget, illa solatio : illa fallit, hæc instruit* : the one deceives, the other instructs : the one miserably happy, the other happily miserable : and therefore many Philosophers have voluntarily sought adversity, and so much commend it

[¹ Ovid, A. A. ii. 437.] ² Fortuna quem nimium fovet stultum facit. Pub. [Syrus.] ³ Seneca de beat. vit. cap. 14. Miseri si deserantur ab ea, miseriore si obruantur. ⁴ Tacitus, Hist. i. 49. memoriter, excellent emperors had they never been emperors.] ⁵ Plutarch. vit. ejus. [§ 8.] ⁶ Hor. Epist. lib. 1. Ep. 18. [31-35.] ⁷ Hor. [Ep. i. 10. 42, 43.] ⁸ Cic. de Off. iii. 1. 3, but of evils choose the least.] ⁹ Boeth. [De Consol. Philos. lib.] 2. [Prosa viii.]

in their precepts. *Demetrius* in *Seneca*¹ esteemed it a great infelicity, that in his life time he had no misfortune, *miserum cui nihil unquam accidisset adversi*. Adversity then is not so heavily to be taken, and we ought not in such cases so much to macerate ourselves: there is no such odds in poverty and riches. To conclude in ²*Hierom's* words, *I will ask our Magnificoes, that build with Marble, and bestow a whole Manor on a thread, what difference betwixt them and Paul the Eremite, that bare old man & they drink in jewels, he in his hand: he is poor, and goes to Heaven, they are rich, and go to Hell.*

MEMB. •IV.

Against Servitude, Loss of Liberty, Imprisonment, Banishment.

SERVITUDE, loss of liberty, imprisonment, are no such miseries as they are held to be: we are slaves and servants the best of us all: as we do reverence our masters, so do our masters their superiors: Gentlemen serve Nobles, and Nobles [are] subordinate to Kings, *Omne sub regno graviore regnum*,³ Princes themselves are God's servants, *Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis*.⁴ They are subject to their own Laws, and, as the Kings of *China*, endure more than slavish imprisonment, to maintain their state and greatness, they never come abroad. *Alexander* was a slave to fear, *Cæsar* of pride, *Vespasian* to his money, (*nihil enim refert, rerum sis servus an hominum*,⁵) *Heliogabalus* to his gut, and so of the rest. Lovers are slaves to their Mistresses, rich men to their gold, Courtiers generally to lust and ambition, and all slaves to our affections, as *Evangelus* well discourseth in ⁶*Macrobius*, and ⁷*Seneca* the Philosopher, *assiduam servitutem extremam et ineluctabilem*, he calls it, a continual slavery, to be so captivated by vices; and who is free? Why then dost thou repine? *Satis est potens, Hierom* saith, *qui servire non cogitur*.⁸

[¹ De Providentiâ, cap. 3. memoriter.] [² Epist. lib. 3. vit. Paul. Ermit. Libet eos nunc interrogare qui domus marmoribus vestiunt, qui uno filo villarum ponunt pretia, huic seni modo quid unquam defuit? vos gemmâ bibitis, ille concavis manibus nature satisfecit; ille pauper Paradisum capit, vos avaros Gehenna suscipiet. [³ Seneca, Thyestes, 612.] [⁴ Hor. Odes. iii. 1. 6.] [⁵ For it makes no difference whether you are the slave of things or persons.] [⁶ Satur. l. 11. Alius libidini servit, alius ambitioni, omnes spei, omnes timori. [⁷ Nat. [Quæst.] lib. 3 [Præfatio.] [⁸ Epist. 125, § 20. He is powerful enough who is not obliged to do servile work.]

Thou carriest no burdens, thou art no prisoner, no drudge, and thousands want that liberty, those pleasures, which thou hast. Thou art not sick, and what wouldest thou have? But *nihilum in vetitum*,¹ we must all eat of the forbidden fruit. Were we enjoined to go to such and such places, we would not willingly go: but, being barred of our liberty, this alone torments our wandering soul that we may not go. A Citizen of ours, saith ²*Cardan*, was sixty years of age, and had never been forth of the walls of the City *Milan*; the Prince hearing of it, commanded him not to stir out: being now forbidden that which all his life he had neglected, he earnestly desired, and being denied, *dolore confectus mortem obiit*, he died for grief.

What I have said of servitude, I say again of imprisonment. We are all prisoners. ³What's our life but a prison? We are all imprisoned in an Island. The world itself to some men is a prison, our narrow seas as so many ditches, and when they have compassed the Globe of the earth, they would fain go see what is done in the Moon. In ⁴*Muscovy*, and many other Northern parts, all over *Scandia*, they are imprisoned half the year in stoves, they dare not peep out for cold. At ⁵*Aden* in *Arabia* they are penned in all day long with that other extreme of heat, and keep their markets in the night. What is a ship but a prison? and so many Cities are but as so many hives of Bees, Ant-hills. But that which thou abhorrest, many seek: women keep in all the Winter, and most part of Summer, to preserve their beauties; some for love of study: *Demosthenes* shaved his beard, because he would cut off all occasion from going abroad: ⁶how many Monks and Friars, Anchorites, abandon the world! *Monachus in urbe, piscis in arido*.⁷ Art in prison? Make right use of it, and mortify thyself. ⁸Where may a man contemplate better than in solitariness, or study more than in quietness? Many worthy men have been imprisoned all their lives, and it hath been occasion of great honour and glory to them, much publick good by their excellent meditation. ⁹*Ptolemæus* King of *Egypt*, *cum viribus attenuatis infirmâ*

[¹ Ovid, Am. iii. 4. 17.] ² De Consol. l. iii. ³ O generose, quid est vita nisi carcer animi? [*Cardan*, De Consolatione, Lib. iii.] ⁴ Herbastein.
⁵ Vertomannus, navig. 2. c. 4. ⁶ *Commercia in nunquino noctu horâ secunda ob nimios qui sæviunt interdum æstus exercent.* [⁶ *Plutarch*, Life of *Demosthenes*, c. 7.] [⁷ A Monk in a town is a fish out of water.] ⁸ Ubi verior contemplatio quam in solitudine? ubi studium solidius quam in quiete? ⁹ *Alex. ab. Alex. gen. dier. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

valetudine laboraret, miro discendi studio affectus, &c. now being taken with a grievous infirmity of body, that he could not stir abroad, became *Strato's* scholar, fell hard to his book, and gave himself wholly to contemplation, and upon that occasion (as mine Author adds) *pulcherrimum regia opulentia monumentum, &c.* to his great honour built that renowned Library at *Alexandria*, wherein were 40,000 volumes. *Severinus Boethius* never writ so elegantly as in prison, *Paulo* so devoutly, for most of his Epistles were dictated in his bonds: *Joseph*, saith ¹*Austin*, got more credit in prison than when he distributed corn, and was Lord of Pharaoh's house. It brings many a lewd riotous fellow home, many wandering rogues it settles, that would otherwise have been like raving Tigers, ruined themselves and others.

Banishment is no grievance at all, *Omne solum forti patria,*² &c. *et patria est ubicunque bene est,*³ that's a man's country where he is well at ease. Many travel for pleasure to that city, saith *Seneca*,⁴ to which thou art banished, and what a great part of the citizens are strangers born in other places! ⁵*Incolentibus patria,* 'tis their country that are born in it, and they would think themselves banished to go to the place which thou leavest, and from which thou art so loth to depart. 'Tis no disparagement to be a stranger, or so irksome to be an exile. ⁶*The rain is a stranger to the earth, rivers to the Sea, Jupiter in Egypt, the Sun to us all. The Soul is an alien to the Body, a Nightingale to the air, a Swallow in an house, and Ganymede in Heaven, an Elephant at Rente, a Phoenix in India;* and such things commonly please us best which are most strange, and come farthest off. Those old *Hebrews* esteemed the whole world *Gentiles*; the *Greeks* held all *Barbarians* but themselves; our modern *Italians* account of us as dull *Transalpines* by way of reproach, they scorn thee and thy country, which thou so much admirest. 'Tis a childish humour to hone after home, to be discontent at that which others seek; to prefer, as base *Icelanders* and *Norwegians* do, their own ragged Island before *Italy* or *Greece*, the Gardens of the world. There is

¹ In Ps. lxxvi. Non ita laudatur Joseph cum frumenta distribueret, ac quam carcerem habitaret. [² Ovid. F. i. 493.] [³ Poet. (Pacuv.?) ap. c. Tusc. 5. 37. 108.]

[⁴ Consolatio ad Helviam, § 6.] [⁵ Boethius. [De Consolat. Philos. Lib. ii. Prosa iv.] [⁶ Philostratus. [Epist. viii.] Peregrini sunt imbres in terra et fluvii in mari, Jupiter apud Aegyptos, sol apud omnes; hospes anima in corpore, hircinia in aere, hirundo in domo, Ganymedes cælo, &c.]

a base Nation in the North, saith ¹*Pliny*, called *Chauci*, that live amongst rocks and sands by the sea side, feed on fish, drink water: and yet these base people account themselves slaves in respect when they come to *Rome*. *Ita est profectò* (as he concludes) *multis fortuna parcit in pœnam*; so it is, Fortune favours some to live at home to their further punishment; 'tis want of judgement. All places are distant from Heaven alike, the Sun shines happily as warm in one city as in another, and to a wise man there is no difference of climes: friends are everywhere to him that behaves himself well, and a Prophet is not esteemed in his own Country. *Alexander, Cæsar, Trajan, Adrian*, were as so many land-leapers,² now in the East, now in the West, little at home, and *Paulus Venetus, Eod. Vertomannus, Pinzonus*,³ *Cadamustus, Columbus, Americus Vespuccius, Vascus Gama, Drake, Candish, Oliver Anort, Schouten*, got all their honour by voluntary expeditions. But you say such men's travel is voluntary; we are compelled, and as malefactors must depart: yet 'know this of *Plato* to be true, *ultori Deo summa cura peregrinus est*, God hath an especial care of strangers, and when he wants friends and allies, he shall deserve better, and find more favour with God and men. Besides the pleasure of peregrination, variety of objects will make amends; and so many Nobles, *Tully, Aristides, Themistocles, Theseus, Codrus, &c.* as have been banished, will give sufficient credit unto it. Read *Peter Alcionius* his two books of this subject.

MEMB. V.

Against Sorrow for Death of Friends or otherwise, vain Fear, &c.

DEATH and departure of friends are things generally grievous; *omnium quæ in humana vita contingunt, luctus atque mors sunt acerbissima*, the most austere and bitter accidents that can happen to a man in this life, *in æternum valedicere*, to part for ever, to for-

¹ Lib. 10. cap. 1. Nullam frugem habent, potus ex imbre: et hæ gentes si vincantur, &c. [² = wanderers.] [³ Pinzon was one of Columbus' companions. Cada Mosta was a Venetian traveller. Vasco da Gama was the celebrated Portuguese navigator. Thomas Cavendish was the third navigator of the globe.]

⁴ Lib. 5. de legibus [p. 729 E. 730 A.] Cumque cognatis careat et amicis, majorem apud Deos et apud homines misericordiam meretur. ⁵ Cardan. de consol. lib. 2.

sake the world and all our friends, 'tis *ultimum terribilium*, the last and the greatest terror, most irksome and troublesome unto us. ¹*Homo toties moritur, quoties amittit suos.*² And though we hope for a better life, eternal happiness, after these painful and miserable days, yet we cannot compose ourselves willingly to die; the remembrance of it is most grievous unto us, especially to such who are fortunate and rich: they start at the name of death, as an horse at a rotten post. Say what you can of that other world, with ³*Metezuma*, that *Indian Prince*, *bonum est esse hinc*,⁴ they had rather be here. Nay, many generous spirits, and grave staid men otherwise, are so tender in this, that at the loss of a dear friend, they will cry out, roar, and tear their hair, lamenting some months after, howling, *O Hone*, as those *Irish* women, and ⁵*Greeks* at their graves, commit many undecent actions, and almost go besides themselves. My dear father, my sweet husband, mine only brother's dead, to whom shall I make my moan?

- O me miserum!
Quis dabit in lacrimas fontem, &c.⁶

What shall I do?

⁷*Sed totum hoc studium luctu fraterna mihi mors
Abstulit, O misero frater adempte mihi!*
My brother's death my study hath undone,
Woe's me! alas! my brother he is gone!

Mecentius would not live after his son:

⁸*Nunc vivo, nec adhuc homines lucemque relinquo,
Sed linquam——*

And *Pompey's* wife cried out at the news of her husband's death,

⁹*Turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore,*

violenta luctu et nescia tolerandi, as ¹⁰*Tacitus* of *Agrippina*, not able to moderate her passions. So, when she heard her son was slain, she abruptly broke off her work, changed countenance and colour, tore her hair, and fell a roaring downright.

¹ *Seneca*. [Seneca is a slip of Burton's. It should be Publius Syrus.] [² A man dies as often as he loses his friends. Cf. Young, "Friends part, 'tis the survivor dies."]
³ Benzo. [⁴ Matt. xvii. 4.] [⁵ Summo mane ululatum oriuntur, pectora percutientes, &c., miserabile spectaculum exhibentes. Ortelius in Græcia.] [⁶ Stroza.] [⁷ Catullus. [lxviii. 19. 20.] [⁸ Virgil. *Æn.* x. 855-856. I live now, nor as yet leave the world and light of days, but I will leave them.] [⁹ Lucan. [ix. 108. Not to be able to die through sorrow alone for thee would be disgraceful.] [¹⁰ *Annal.* [cap. i.]

—— subitas miseræ color ossa reliquit;
 Excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa:
 Evolat infelix, et fœmineo ululatu,
 Scissa comam ———¹

Another would needs run upon the sword's point after *Euryalus'* departure,

² Figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela
 Conjicite, ô Rutili; ———

O let me die, some good man or other make an end of me! How did *Achilles* take on for *Patroclus'* departure! A black cloud of sorrows overshadowed him, saith *Homer*.³ *Jacob* rent his clothes, put sack-cloth about his loins, sorrowed for his son a long season, and could not be comforted, but would needs go down into the grave unto his son. *Gen.* 37. 35. Many years after, the remembrance of such friends, of such accidents, is most grievous unto us, to see or hear of it, though it concern not ourselves, but others. *Scaliger* saith of himself, that he never read *Socrates'* death, in *Plato's Phædo* but he wept. *Austin* shed tears when he read the destruction of *Troy*. But howsoever this passion of sorrow be violent, bitter, and seizeth familiarly on wise, valiant, discreet men, yet it may surely be withstood, it may be diverted. For what is there in this life, that it should be so dear unto us? or that we should so much deplore the departure of a friend? The greatest pleasures are common society, to enjoy one another's presence, feasting, hawking, hunting, brooks, woods, hills, musick, dancing, &c. all this is but vanity and loss of time, as I have sufficiently declared.

—— ⁵ dum bibimus, dum sarta, unguenta, puellas,
 Poscimus, obrepat non intellecta senectus.

Whilst we drink, prank ourselves, with wenches dally,
 Old age upon's at unawares doth sally.

As *Alchemists* spend that small modicum they have to get gold, and never find it, we lose and neglect eternity, for a little momentary⁶ pleasure, which we cannot enjoy; nor shall ever attain to in this life. We abhor death, pain and grief, all, and yet we will do nothing of that which should vindicate us from, but rather voluntarily thrust

[¹ Virg. *Æn.* ix. 475-478. The colour suddenly left her cheek, the distaff forsook her hand, the reel revolved, and with dishevelled locks she broke away, wailing as a woman.] ² Virg. *Æn.* ix. [493-494. Transfix me, O Rutuli, if you have any piety; pierce me with a thousand arrows.] [³ *Iliad*, xvii. 591.] ⁴ Confess. l. i.

⁵ Juvenalis. [ix. 128, 9.] [⁶ = momentary.]

ourselves upon it. ¹ *The lascivious prefers his whore before his life or good estate; an angry man his revenge; a parasite his gut; ambitious honours; covetous wealth; a thief his booty; a soldier his spoil; we abhor diseases, and yet we pull them upon us.* We are never better or freer from cares, than when we sleep, and yet, which we so much avoid and lament, death is but a perpetual sleep, and why should it, as ² *Epicurus* argues, so much affright us? *When we are, death is not: but when death is, then we are not: our life is tedious and troublesome unto him that lives best; ³ 'tis a misery to be born, a pain to live, a trouble to die; death makes an end to our miseries, and yet we cannot consider of it.* A little before ⁴ *Socrates* drank his potion of *cicuta*,⁵ he bid the Citizens of *Athens* cheerfully farewell, and concluded his speech with this short sentence, *My time is now come to be gone, I to my death, you to live on; but which of these is best God alone knows.* For there is no pleasure here, but sorrow is annexed to it, repentance follows it. ⁶ *If I feed liberally, I am like'y sick, or surfeit; if I live sparingly, my hunger and thirst is not allayed; I am well neither full nor fasting; if I live honest, I burn in lust; if I take my pleasure, I tire and starve myself, and do injury to my body and soul.* ⁷ *Of so small a quantity of mirth, how much sorrow! after so little pleasure, how great misery!* 'Tis both ways troublesome to me, to rise, and go to bed, to eat and provide my meat; cares and contentions attend me all day long, fears and suspicions all my life. I am discontented, and why should I desire so much to live? But an happy death will make an end of all our woes and miseries;

Omnibus una meis certa medela malis.⁸

Why shouldest thou not then say with old *Simeon*, since thou art so well affected, *Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace:*⁹ or with *Paul*, *I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.*¹⁰ *Beata mors*

¹ Amator scortum vitæ præponit, iracundus vindictam, parasitus gulam, ambitiosus honores, avarus opes, miles rapinam, fur prædam; morbos odimus et accersimus. Card. [De Consolatione, Lib. ii.] ² Seneca. Quum nos sumus, mors non adest; cum vero mors adest, tum nos non sumus. ³ Bernard. c. 3. med.

Nasci miserum, vivere pœna, angustia mori. ⁴ Platon. Hippol. Socratis. [p. 42 A.] Sed jam hora est hinc abire, &c. ⁵ Hemlock.] ⁶ Comedi ad

satietatem, gravitas me offendit; parcius edi, non est expletum desiderium; vene- reas delicias sequor, hinc morbus, lassitudo, &c. ⁷ Bern. c. 3. med. De tantilla lætitia quanta tristitia; post tantam voluptatem quam gravis miseria! ⁸ That

is the certain cure for all our troubles.] ⁹ St. Luke ii. 29.] ¹⁰ Phil. i. 23.]

quæ ad beatam vitam aditum aperit, 'tis a blessed hour that leads us to a ¹ blessed life; and blessed are they that die in the Lord.² But life is sweet, and death is not so terrible in itself as the concomitants of it, a loathsome disease, pain, horror, &c. and many times the manner of it, to be hanged, to be broken on the wheel, to be burned alive. ³ *Servetus* the heretick, that suffered in *Geneva*, when he was brought to the stake, and saw the executioner come with fire in his hand, *homo, viso igne, tam horrendum exclamavit, ut universum populum perterrefecerit*, roared so loud that he terrified the people. An old *Stoick* would have scorned this. It troubles some to be unburied, or so :

—— non te optima mater
Condet humi, patriove onerabit membra sepulchro;
Alitibus linquere feris; aut gurgite mersum
Unda feret, piscesque impasti vulnera lambent.⁴
Thy gentle parents shall not bury thee,
Amongst thine ancestors entomb'd to be,
But feral fowl thy carcass shall devour,
Or drowned corpse hungry fish maws shall scour.

As *Socrates* told *Crito*, it concerns me not what is done with me when I am dead; *facilis jactura sepulchri*:⁵ I care not so long as I feel it not; let them set mine head on the pike of *Teneriffe*, and my quarters in the four parts of the world,

—— Pascam licet in cruce corvos,⁶

let wolves or bears devour me;

—— ⁷ *Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam*,

the canopy of heaven covers him that hath no tomb. So likewise for our friends, why should their departure so much trouble us? They are better as we hope, and for what then dost thou lament, as those do whom *Paul* taxed in his time, *1 Thess. 4. 13. that have no hope*. 'Tis fit there should be some solemnity :

⁸ *Sed sepelire decet defunctum, pectore forti
Constantes, unumque diem fletui indulgentes.*

[After one day given to grief we ought
To bury our dead with dogged resolution.]

Job's friends said not a word to him the first seven days, but let sorrow and discontent take their course, themselves sitting sad and

¹ Est enim mors piorum felix transitus de labore ad refrigerium, de expectatione ad præmium, de agone ad brabeum. [² Apocalypse, xiv. 13.] [³ Vaticanus, vita ejus. [⁴ Virg. *Æn.* x. 557-560.] [⁵ Virg. *Æn.* ii. 646.] [⁶ Cf. Hor. *Epp.* i. 16. 48.] [⁷ Luc. [7. 189.] [⁸ Il. 19. [228, 229.] Homer.

silent by him.¹ When ⁰*Jupiter* himself wept for *Sarpedon*,² what else did the Poet insinuate, but that some sorrow is good?

³ Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati
Flere vetat? —

Who can blame a tender mother, if she weep for her children? Beside, as ⁴*Plutarch* holds, 'tis not in our power not to lament. *indolentia non cuivis contingit*, it takes away mercy and pity not to be sad; 'tis a natural passion to weep for our friends, an irresistible passion to lament and grieve. *I know not how* (saith *Seneca*) *but sometimes 'tis good to be miserable in misery: and for the most part all grief evacuates itself by tears*,⁵

—— ⁶ est quedam flere voluptas,
Expletur lachrymis egeriturque dolor:

yet after a day's mourning or two, comfort thyself for thy heaviness, Eccles. 38. 17. *'Non decet defunctum ignavo quaestu prosequi*; 'twas *Germanicus's* advice of old, that we should not dwell too long upon our passions, to be desperately sad, immoderate grievers, to let them tyrannize, there's *indolentiae ars*, a medium to be kept: we do not (saith ⁷*Austin*) forbid men to grieve, but to grieve overmuch. *I forbid not a man to be angry, but I ask for what cause he is so? Not to be sad, but why is he sad? Not to fear, but wherefore is he afraid?* I require a moderation, as well as a just reason. ⁸ The Romans and most civil Commonwealths have set a time to such solemnities, they must not mourn after a set day, *or if in a family a child be born, a daughter or son married, some state or honour be conferred, a brother be redeemed from his hands, a friend from his enemies*, or the like, they must lament no more. And 'tis fit it should be so; to what end is all their funeral pomp, complaints and tears? When *Socrates* was dying, his friends *Apollodorus* and *Crito* with some others, were weeping by him, which he perceiving, asked them what they meant: ¹⁰ *for*

[¹ Job. ii. 13.] [² Hom. Il. xi. 459, 460.] [³ Ovid. [Remed. Amor. 127, 128.]
⁴ Consol. ad Apollon. Non est libertate nostra positum non dolere, misericordiam abolet, &c. [§ iii.] [⁵ M. Annaei Senecae, Controv. Lib. v. Contr. 30.] [⁶ Ovid. Trist. 4. [3. 37, 38.] [⁷ Tacitus, [Ann. ii. 71, memoriter. It is no more coming to mourn the dead idly.] [⁸ Lib. 9. cap. 9. de civitate Dei. Non quaero cum irascatur sed cur, non utrum sit tristis sed unde, non utrum timeat sed quid timeat. [⁹ Festus, verbo minuitur. Luctui dies indicebatur, cum liberi nascentur, cum frater abiret, amicus ab hospite, captivus domum redeat, puella desponsetur. [¹⁰ Ob hanc causam mulieres ablegaram, ne talia facerent. Nos haec audientes erubimus et destitimus a lacrimis. [Plato, Phædo, p. 117 D, E.]

that very cause he put all the women out of the room, upon which words of his they were obashed, and ceased from their tears. *Lodovicus Cortesius*, a rich Lawyer of *Padua* (as ¹ *Bernardinus Scardeonius* relates) commanded by his last will, and a great mulct if otherwise to his heir, that no funeral should be kept for him, no man should lament, but, as at a wedding, musick and minstrels to be provided; and, instead of black mourners, he took order ² that twelve Virgins clad in green should carry him to the Church. His will and testament was accordingly performed, and he buried in *S. Sophia's* Church. ³ *Tully* was much grieved for his daughter *Tulliola's* death at first, until such time that he had confirmed his mind with some Philosophical precepts, ⁴ then he began to triumph over fortune and grief, and for her reception into Heaven to be much more joyed than before he was troubled for her loss. If an Heathen man could so fortify himself from Philosophy, what shall a Christian from Divinity? Why dost thou so macerate thyself? 'Tis an inevitable chance, the first statute in *Magna Charta*, an everlasting Act of Parliament, all must ⁵ die.

⁶ Constat æternâ positumque lege est,
Ut constet genitum nihil.

It cannot be revoked, we are all mortal, and these all-commanding Gods and Princes die like men⁷—*Involvit humile paritèr et celsum caput, Æquatque summis infima.* O weak condition of human estate! *Sylvius* exclaims: ⁸ *Ladislaus*, King of *Bohemia*, 18 years of age, in the flower of his youth, so potent, rich, fortunate and happy, in the midst of all his friends, amongst so many ⁹ Physicians, now ready to be ¹⁰ married, in 36 hours sickened and died. We must so be gone sooner or later all, and as *Calliopius* in the Comedy took his leave of his Spectators and Auditors,

Vos valete et plaudite, *Calliopius* recensui,

must we bid the world farewell, (*Exit Calliopius*) and, having now

¹ Lib. 1. class. 8. de claris. Juris consultis Patavinis. ² 12 innuptæ puellæ amictæ viridibus pannis, &c. ³ Lib. de consol. ⁴ Præceptis philosophiæ

confirmatur adversus omnem fortunæ vim, et te consecratâ in cœlumque recepta, tanta affectus lætitia sum ac voluptate quantam animo capere possum, ac exultare plane mihi videor, victorque de omni dolore et fortuna triumphare. ⁵ Ut lignum uri natum, arista secari, sic homines mori. ⁶ Boeth. lib. 2. met. 3. ⁷ Boeth. [De Consol. Philos. Lib. 2. Metrum 7.] ⁸ Nic. Hensel. Breslagra. fol. 47.

⁹ Twenty then present. ¹⁰ To Magdalen, the daughter of Charles the Seventh of France. Obeunt noctesque diesque, &c.

played our parts, for ever be gone.¹ Tombs and monuments have the like fate, *data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris*,² Kingdoms, Provinces, Towns and cities, have their periods, and are consumed. In those flourishing times of *Troy Mycenæ* was the fairest city in *Greece*, *Græciæ cunctæ imperitabat*, but it, alas! and that ³ *Assyrian Nineveh* are quite overthrown. The like fate hath that *Egyptian* and *Bæotian Thebes*, *Delos*, *commune Græciæ conciliabulum*, the common council-house of *Greece*,⁴ and *Babylon*, the greatest city that ever the Sun shone on, hath now nothing but walls and rubbish left.

⁵ Quid Pandionizæ restat nisi nomen Athenæ?

Thus ⁶ *Pausanias* complained in his times. And where is *Troy* itself now, *Persepolis*, *Carthage*, *Cyzicum*, *Sparta*, *Argos*, and all those *Grecian* cities? *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum*, the fairest towns in *Sicily*, which had sometime 700,000 inhabitants, are now decayed: the names of *Hiero*, *Empedocles*, &c. of those mighty numbers of people, only left. One *Anacharsis* is remembered amongst the *Scythians*; the world itself must have an end, and every part of it. *Ceteræ igitur urbes sunt mortales*,⁷ as *Peter Gillius* concludes of *Constantinople*, *hæc sane, quamdiu erunt homines, futura mihi videtur immortalis*,⁸ but 'tis not so: nor site, nor strength, nor sea, nor land, can vindicate a city, but it and all must vanish at last. And as to a traveller great mountains seem plains afar off, at last are not discerned at all, cities, men, monuments, decay.

— Nec solidis prodest sua machina terris,

the names are only left, those at length forgotten, and are involved in perpetual night.

¹⁰ *Returning out of Asia, when I sailed from Ægina toward Megara, I began* (saith *Servius Sulpicius*, in a consolatory Epistle of his to *Tully*) *to view the country round about. Ægina was*

[1 In all, or almost all the MSS. of Terence not older than the ninth century we find at the end of each play *Calliopus recensui*. Burton seems to have followed Euphrasius in taking Calliopus to have been the Actor, and not, as probably, some Grammarian. See Prof. Wm. Ramsay, *Classl. Dict. v. Calliopus*.] [2 Juv. x. 145.] [3 Assyriorum regio funditus deleta.] [4 Omnium quot unquam Sol aspexit urbium maxima.] [5 Ovid. [M. xv. 430. What of Pandion's Athens but the name remains?]] [6 Arcad. lib. 8. [c. 32.]] [7 All other towns are mortal.]

[8 Præfat. Topogr. Constantinop.] [9 This city alone, as long as the world shall last, seems to me likely to be immortal.] [10 Epist. Tull. lib. iv. [Ep. 5.]]

behind me, Megara before, Piræus on the 'right hand, Corinth on the left, what flourishing towns heretofore, now prostrate and overwhelmed before mine eyes! I began to think with myself, *Alas, why are we men so much disquieted with the departure of a friend, whose life is much shorter, when so many goodly cities lie buried before us?* Remember, O Servius, thou art a man; and with that I was much confirmed, and corrected myself. Correct then likewise, and comfort thyself, in this, that we must necessarily die, and all die, that we shall rise again: as Tully held:² *jucundiorque multo congressus noster futurus, quam insuavis et acerbis digressus*, our second meeting shall be much more pleasant than our departure was grievous.

I, but he was my most dear and loving friend, my sole friend,

³ Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis? ———

And who can blame my woe?

Thou mayest be ashamed, I say with ⁴ Seneca, to confess it, *in such a tempest as this to have but one anchor*, go seek another; and for his part thou dost him great injury to desire his longer life. ⁶ *Wilt thou have him crazed and sickly still*, like a tired traveller that comes weary to his Inn, begin his journey afresh, *or to be freed from his miseries?* Thou hadst more need rejoice that he is gone. Another complains of [the loss of] a most sweet wife, a young wife, *Nondum sustulerat flavum Proserpina crinem*,⁷ such a wife as no mortal man ever had, so good a wife, but she is now dead and gone, *Lethæoque jacet condita sarcophago*.⁸ I reply to him in Seneca's words, if such a woman at least ever was to be had, ⁹ *he did either so find or make her; if he found her, he may as happily find another*, if he made her, as Critobulus¹⁰ in Xenophon did by his, he may as good cheap inform another, *et bona tam sequitur*,

¹ Quum tot oppidorum cadavera ante oculos projecta jacent. [Ibid.] ² Ad Q. Fratr. i. 3.] ³ Hor. lib. i. Od. 24. [1, 2.] ⁴ De remeſ. fortuit. ⁵ Erutſce tanta tempeſtate quod ad unam anchoram ſtabas. [Excerpta e libris Senecæ.]

⁶ Vis ægrum, et morbidum, ſitibundum?—gaude potius quod his malis liberatus ſit. [7 Virg. Æn. iv. 698, memoriter.] ⁸ And lies in her grave.] ⁹ Uxorem bonam autem inveniſti, aut ſic feciſti; ſi inveneris, aliam habere te poſſe ex hoc intelligamus: ſi feceris, bene ſperes, ſalvus eſt artifex. [Seneca, Excerpt. ii.]

¹⁰ I can't help thinking Critobulus is one of Burton's frequent ſlips. Critobulus is indeed deſcribed as recently married in Xen. Sympos. c. ii. § 3. But nothing about his wife hardly, while in c. iv. we ſee that he is ſtill furioſly beſotted with Cleinias. It ſeems to me Iſchomachus muſt be meant, of whoſe family life with his wife, veritably idyllic, we have a charming picture in Xenophon's *Æconomicus*.]

quam bona prima fuit; he need not despair so long as the same Master is to be had. But was she good? Had she been so tried peradventure, as that *Ephesian* widow in *Petronius*,¹ by some swaggering soldier, she might not have held out. Many a man would have been willingly rid of his: before thou wast bound, now thou art free; ²*and 'tis but a folly to love thy fetters, though they be of gold.* Come into a third place, you shall have an aged Father sighing for a Son, a pretty Child;

³*Impube pectus quale vel impia
Molliret Thracum pectora;*

—— He now lies asleep,
Would make an impious Thracian weep;

or some fine daughter that died young, *Nondum experta novi gaudia prima tori*; or a forlorn Son for his deceased Father. But why? *Prior exiit, prior intravit*, he came first, and he must go first. ⁴*Tu frustra pius, heu, &c.* What, wouldest thou have the Laws of Nature altered, and him to live always? *Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Alcibiades, Galen, Aristotle*, lost their Fathers young. And why, on the other side, shouldest thou so heavily take the death of thy little Son?

⁵*Nam, quia nec fato, meritâ nec morte peribat,
Sed miser ante diem* ——

He died before his time perhaps, not yet come to the solstice of his age, yet was he not mortal? Hear that divine ⁶*Epictetus*, *If thou covet thy wife, friends, children, should live always, thou art a fool.* He was a fine Child indeed, *dignus Apollineis lacrimis*,⁷ a sweet, a loving, a fair, a witty Child, of great hope, another *Eteoneus*, whom *Pindar* the Poet, and *Aristides* the Rhetorician, so much lament; but who can tell whether he would have been an honest man? He might have proved a thief, a rogue, a spend-thrift, a disobedient son, vexed and galled thee more than all the world beside, he might have wrangled with thee and disagreed, or with his brothers, as *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, and broke thy heart; he is now gone to eternity, as another *Ganymede*, in the ⁸flower of

[¹ Chs. III, II2.]
Adagia, p. 531, A.]
lib. I. Od. 24. [11.]

² Stulti est compedes licet aureas amare. [See Erasmii

³ Hor. [Epod. v. 13, 14, quoted memoriter.]

⁴ Hor.

⁵ Virg. Æn. 4. [696, 697.]

⁶ Cap. 19. Si id studes ut

uxor, amici, liberi perpetuo vivant, stultus es. [⁷ Deserving even of Apollo's tears.] ⁸ Deus quos diligit juvenes rapit. Menan.

his youth, *as if he had risen*, saith ¹ *Plutarch*, *from the midst of a feast*, before he was drunk; *the longer he had lived, the worse he would have been, et quo vita longior* (*Ambrose* thinks) *culpa numerosior*, more sinful, more to answer he would have had. If he was nought, thou mayest be glad he is gone; if good, be glad thou hadst such a son. Or art thou sure he was good? It may be he was an hypocrite, as many are, and howsoever he spake thee fair, peradventure he prayed, amongst the rest that *Icaromenippus* heard at *Jupiter's* whispering place in *Lucian*,² for his Father's death, because he now kept him short, he was to inherit much goods, and many fair Manors after his decease. Or put case he was very good, suppose the best, may not thy dead son expostulate with thee, as he did in the same ³ *Lucian*, *Why dost thou lament my death, or call me miserable that am much more happy than thyself? What misfortune is befallen me? Is it because I am not bald, crooked, old, rotten, as thou art? What have I lost? Some of your good cheer, gay clothes, musick, singing, dancing, kissing, merry meetings, thalami lubentias, &c. is that it? Is it not much better not to hunger at all than to eat? not to thirst than to drink to satisfy thirst? not to be cold than to put on clothes to drive away cold? You had more need rejoice that I am freed from diseases, agues, carcs, anxieties, livor, love, covetousness, hatred, envy, malice, that I fear no more thieves, tyrants, enemies, as you do.*

⁴Id cinerem et manes credis curare sepultos?

Do they concern us at all, think you, when we are once dead? Condole not others then overmuch, wish not or fear their death,

⁵Summum nec metuas diem nec optes,

'tis to no purpose.

Excessi & vitæ ærumnis facilisque lubensque,
Ne pejora ipsâ morte dehinc videam.

I left this irksome life with all mine heart,
Lest worse than death should happen to my part.

¹ Consol. ad Apoll. [§ xxxiv.] Apollonius filius tuus in flore decessit, ante nos ad æternitatem digressus, tanquam è convivio abiens, priusquam in errorem aliquem è temulentia incideret, quales in longa senectâ accidere solent. [² *Icaromenippus*. § 25.] ³ De luctu. [§ xvi.] Quid me mortuum miserum vocas, qui te sum multo felicior? aut quid acerbi mihi putas contigisse? an quia non sum calvus, senex, ut tu, facie rugosus, incurvus, &c. O demens! quid tibi videtur in vita boni? nimirum amicitias, cœnas, &c. Longe melius non esurire quam edere; non sitire, &c. Gaude potius quod morbos et febres effugerim, angorem animi, &c. Ejulatus quid prodest, quid lacrimæ, &c. ⁴ Virgil. [*Æn.* iv. 34.] [⁵ Martial, x, xlvii. 13.]

¹ Cardinal *Brundisius* caused this Epitaph in *Rome* to be inscribed on his Tomb, to shew his willingness to die, and tax those that were so loth to depart. Weep and howl no more then, 'tis to small purpose; and, as *Tully* adviseth us in the like case, *non quos amisimus, sed quantum lugere par sit, cogitemus*: think what we do, not whom we have lost. So *David* did, 2 *Sam.* 12. [20], *While the child was yet alive, I fasted and wept, but, being now dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him [back] again? I shall go to him, but he cannot return to me.* He that doth otherwise is an intemperate, a weak, a silly, and undiscreet man. Though *Aristotle* deny any part of intemperance to be conversant about sorrow,² I am of ³*Seneca's* mind, *he that is wise is temperate, and he that is temperate is constant, free from passion, and he that is such a one is without sorrow*: as all wise men should be. The ⁴*Thracians* wept still when a child was born, feasted and made mirth when any man was buried: and so should we rather be glad for such as die well, that they are so happily freed from the miseries of this life. When *Eteoneus*, that noble young Greek, was so generally lamented by his friends, *Pindar* the Poet feigns some God saying, *Silete homines, non enim miser est, &c.* Be quiet, good folks, this young man is not so miserable as you think; he is neither gone to *Syx* nor *Acheron*, *sed gloriosus et senii expertus heros*, [but] he lives for ever in the *Elysian Fields*. He now enjoys that happiness which your great Kings so earnestly seek, and wears that garland for which ye contend. If our present weakness is such, we cannot moderate our passions in this behalf, we must divert them by all means, by doing something else, thinking of another subject. The *Italians* most part sleep away care and grief, if it unseasonably seize upon them; *Danes*, *Dutchmen*, *Polanders*, and *Bohemians* drink it down, our countrymen go to Plays. Do something or other, let it not transpose thee, or by ⁵*premeditation* make such accidents familiar, as *Ulysses*, that wept for his dog, but not for his wife, *quod paratus esset animo obfirmato*, (*Plut. de anim. tranq.* § 16), accustom thyself, and harden before-hand, by seeing other men's calamities, and applying them to thy present estate.

¹ Chytræus, Deliciis Europæ. [² *Ethics*, vii. 8.] ³ *Epist.* 85. ⁴ *Sardus*, de mor. gen. ⁵ *Præmeditatione* facilem reddere quemque casum. *Plutarchus*, consolatione ad *Apollonium*. [§ 21.] *Assuefacere nos casibus debemus*. *Tull.* lib. 3. *Tusculan. Quest.* [passim.]

Prævisum est levius quod fuit ante flalum.¹

[The evil's lighter we anticipate.]

I will conclude with ² *Epictetus*, *If thou lovest a pot, remember 'tis but a pot thou lovest, and thou wilt not be troubled when 'tis broken: if thou lovest a son or wife, remember they were mortal, and thou wilt not be so impatient.* And for false fears, and all other fortuite inconveniences, mischances, calamities, to resist and prepare ourselves, not to faint is best; ³ *Stultum est timere quod vitari non potest*, 'tis a folly to fear that which cannot be avoided, or to be discouraged at all.

⁴ Nam quisquis trepidus pavet vel optat,
Abjicit clypeum, locoque motus
Nectit quâ valeat trahi catenam.

For he that so faints or fears, and yields to his passion, flings away his own weapons, makes a cord to bind himself, and pulls a beam upon his own head.

MEMB. VI.

Against Envy, Livor, Emulation, Hatred, Ambition, Self-love, and all other Affections.

AGAINST those other ⁶ passions and affections there is no better remedy than, as Mariners, when they go to Sea, provide all things necessary to resist a tempest, to furnish ourselves with Philosophical and Divine Precepts, other men's examples, ⁶ *periculum ex aliis facere, sibi quod ex usu siet*: to balance our hearts with love, charity, meekness, patience, and counterpoise those irregular motions of envy, livor, spleen, hatred, with their opposite virtues, as we bend a crooked staff another way, to oppose *sufferance to labour, patience to reproach*,⁷ bounty to covetousness, fortitude to pusillanimity, meekness to anger, humility to pride; to examine ourselves for what cause we are so much disquieted, on what ground, what occasion, is it just or feigned; and then either to

[¹ Very like Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam*. cap. ix. § 2.] ² Cap. 8. Si ollam diligas, memento te ollam diligere, non perturbaberis eâ contractâ; si filium aut uxorem, memento hominem à te diligere, &c. ³ Seneca. [*Excerpta e libris Senecæ.*] ⁴ Boëth. lib. i. pros. 4. ⁵ Qui invidiam ferre non potest, ferre contemptum cogitur. ⁶ Ter. *Heautont.* [i. ii. 36.] ⁷ Epictetus, c. 14. Si labor objectus fuerit tolerantiae, convicium patientiae, &c., si ita consueveris, vitis non obtemperabis.

pacify ourselves by reason, to divert by some other object, contrary passion, or premeditation. ¹ *Meditari secum oportet quo pacto adversam ærumnam ferat, pericla, damna, exilia; peregrè rediens semper cogitet aut filii peccatum aut uxoris mortem, aut morbum filie, communia esse hæc: fieri posse, ut ne quid animo sit novum;* to make them familiar, even all kind of calamities, that, when they happen, they may be less troublesome unto us; *in securis meditare, quo pacto feras adversa;* or out of mature judgement to avoid the effect, or disannul the cause, as they do that are troubled with toothache, pull them quite out.

² *Ut vivat castor, sibi testes amputat ipse;
Tu quoque, siqua nocent, abjice, tutus eris.*

The beaver bites off's stores to save the rest;
Do thou the like with that thou art oppressed.

Or, as they that play at wasters exercise themselves by a few cudgels how to avoid an enemy's blows, let us arm ourselves against all such violent incursions which may invade our minds. A little experience and practice will inure us to it; *vetula vulpes*, as the Proverb saith, *laqueo haud capitur*,³ an old fox is not so easily taken in a snare: an old soldier in the world methinks should not be disquieted, but ready to receive all fortunes, encounters, and, with that resolute Captain, come what may come, to make answer,

————— ⁴ *non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit:
Omnia præcepti, atque animo mecum ante peregi.*

No labour comes at unawares to me,
For I have long before cast what may be.

————— *non hoc primum mea pectora vulnus
Senserunt, graviora tuli* —————⁵

[This is not the first wound my breast has had,
I have suffered worse things.]

The Common-wealth of ⁶ *Venice* in their Armoury have this inscription, *Happy is that City which in time of peace thinks of war;* a fit Motto for every man's private house, happy is the man that provides for a future assault. But many times we complain, repine and mutter, without a cause, we give way to passions we

¹ Ter. Phor. [ii. i. 12-15, memoriter.
p. 372.]

⁴ Virg. Æn. [vi. 103-105.]

² Alciat Embl.

[³ Erasmi Adagia,

[⁵ Seneca, Octavia, 650-652.] ⁶ Nat. Chytræus, Deliciis Europæ. *Felix civitas quæ tempore pacis de bello cogitat.*

may resist, and will not. *Socrates* was bad by nature, envious, as he confessed to *Zopyrus* the Physiognomer, accusing him of it, froward and lascivious: but, as he was *Socrates*, he did correct and amend himself.¹ Thou art malicious, envious, covetous, impatient, no doubt, and lascivious, yet, as thou art a Christian, correct and moderate thyself. 'Tis something, I confess, and able to move any man, to see himself contemned, obscure, neglected, disgraced, undervalued, ²*left behind*, some cannot endure it, no, not constant *Lipsius*, a man discreet otherwise, yet too weak and passionate in this, as his words express, ³*collegas olim, quos ego sine fremitu non intueor, nuper terræ filios, nunc Mæcenates et Agrippas habeo,—summo jam monte potitos.*⁴ But he was much to blame for it; to a wise staid man this is nothing, we cannot all be honoured and rich, all *Cæsars*; if we will be content, our present state is good; and in some men's opinion to be preferred. Let them go on, get wealth, offices, titles, honours, preferments, and what they will themselves, by chance, fraud, imposture, Simony, and indirect means, as too many do, by bribery, flattery, and parasitical insinuation, by impudence, and time-serving, let them climb up to advancement in despite of virtue, let them *go before, cross me on every side*, ⁵*me non offendunt, modo non in oculos incurrant*, as he said, correcting his former error, they do not offend me, so long as they run not into mine eyes. I am inglorious and poor, *compositâ paupertate*, but I live secure and quiet: they are dignified, have great means, pomp and state, they are glorious; but what have they with it? ⁶*Envy, trouble, anxiety, as much labour to maintain their place with credit as to get it at first.* I am contented with my fortunes and love, *Neptunum procul à terrâ spectare furem, spectator è longinquo*:⁷ he is ambitious, and not satisfied with his: *but what* ⁸*gets he by it? to have all his life laid open, his reproaches seen; not one of a thousand but he hath done more worthy of dispraise and animadversion than commenda-*

[1 See Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 37. § 80.] ² Occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est. Hor. [A. P. 417.] ³ Lipsius, Epist. Quæst. l. i. ep. 7. ⁴ I cannot without indignation see my old colleagues, once nobodies, now Mæcenases and Agrippas, and at the top of the tree.] ⁵ Lipsius, Epist. lib. i. Epist. 7.

⁶ Gloria comitem habet invidiam, pari onere premitur retinendo ac acquirendo.

[7 Hor. Epp. i. 11. 10. To see the raging sea from a distance on land.]

⁸ Quid aliud ambitiosus sibi parat quam ut probra ejus pateant? nemo vivens qui non habet in vitâ plura vituperatione quam laude digna; his malis non melius occurritur quam si bene latueris.

tion : no better means to help this than to be private. Let them run, ride, strive, as so many fishes, for a crumb, scrape, climb, catch, snatch, cozen, colloque, temporize, and flee, take all amongst them, wealth, honour, ¹ and get what they can, it offends me not :

——— ² me mea tellus
Lare secreto tutoque tegat,

I am well pleased with my fortunes,

³ Vivo et regno simul ista relinquens.

I have learned *in what state soever I am, therewith to be contented*, Phil. iv. 11. Come what can come, I am prepared. *Nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.*⁴ I am the same. I was once so mad to bustle abroad, and seek about for preferment, tire myself, and trouble all my friends, *sed nihil labor tantus profecit ; nam dum alios amicorum mors avocat, aliis ignotus sum, his invisus, alii largè promittunt, intercedunt illi mecum solliciti, hi vanà spe lactant ; dum alios ambio, hos capto, illis innotesco, ætas perit, anni defluunt, amici fatigantur, ego deseror, & jam, mundi tesus, humanæque satur infidelitatis, acquiesco.*⁵ And so I say still ; although I may not deny, but that I have had some⁶ bountiful patrons, and noble benefactors, *ne sim interim ingratus*, and I do thankfully acknowledge it, I have received some kindness, *quod Deus illis beneficium rependat, si non pro votis, fortasse pro meritis,*⁷ more peradventure than I deserve, though not to my desire, more of them than I did expect, yet not of others to my desert ; neither am I ambitious or covetous, all this while, or a *Suffenus*⁸ to myself ; what I have said, without prejudice or alteration shall stand. And now as a mired horse, that struggles at first with all his might and main to get out, but when he sees no remedy, that

¹ Et omnes fama per urbes garrula laudet. [Seneca, Herc. Fur. 193, 194.]
² Sen. Her. Fur. [196, 7.] ³ Hor. [Epp. i. 10. 8.] I live like a King without any of the things you think so much of. ⁴ Hor. Epp. ii. ii. 200. Whether I sail in a large or small vessel, I sail all the same. ⁵ But all my labour was unprofitable ; for, while death took off some of my friends, to others I was unknown ; little liked by some, others made large promises ; some pleaded strongly on my behalf, others fed me with vain hopes ; while paying court to some, getting into favour with others, getting known to others, my best days were going, the years gliding by, my friends tired of my applications to them, and I myself the worse for wear ; so now, sick of the world, and glutted with the falseness of human nature, I take things as they come.] ⁶ The Right Honourable Lady Frances, Countess Dowager of Exeter. The Lord Berkley. ⁷ Which may God repay, if not according to their wishes, yet according to their deserts !] ⁸ See Catullus, 22.]

his beating will not serve, lies still, I have laboured in vain, rest satisfied, and, if I may usurp that of ¹*Prudentius*,

Inveni portum ; spes et fortuna, valete,
Nil mihi vobiscum, ludite nunc alios.

Mine haven's found, fortune and hope, adieu!
Mock others now, for I have done with you.

MEMB. VII.

*Against Repulse, Abuses, Injuries, Contempts, Disgraces, .
Contumelies, Slanders, Scoffs, &c.*

I MAY not yet conclude, think to appease passions, or quiet the mind, till such time as I have likewise removed some other of their more eminent and ordinary causes, which produce so grievous tortures and discontent^s. To divert all I cannot hope, to point alone at some few of the chiefest is that which I aim at.

Repulse and *disgrace* are two main causes of discontent, but to an understanding man not so hardly to be taken. *Cæsar* himself hath been denied,² and when two stand equal in fortune, birth, and all other qualities alike, one of necessity must lose. Why shouldst thou take it so grievously? It hath been a familiar thing for thee thyself to deny others. If every man might have what he would, we should all be Deified, Emperors, Kings, Princes; if whatsoever vain hope suggests, unsatiable appetite affects, our preposterous judgement thinks fit, were granted, we should have another *Chaos* in an instant, a mere confusion. It is some satisfaction to him that is repelled that dignities, honours, offices, are not always given by desert or worth, but for love, affinity, friendship, affection,³ great men's letters, or, as commonly, they are bought and sold. ⁴*Honours in Court are bestowed not according to men's virtues and good conditions*, (as an old Courtier

¹ Distichon ejus in militem Christianum è Græco. Engraven on the tomb of Fr. Puccius the Florentine in Rome. Chytræus, in Deliciis. [On these famous lines, which are also found in Sir Thomas More's Works, and in Gil Blas, Book ix. fin. See Notes and Queries, vol. vi. pp. 417, 418.] ² Prædaretus in 300 Lacedæmoniorum numerum non electus risit, gratulari se dicens civitatem habere 300 cives se meliores. [Plut. Apoph. Laconica, p. 231.] ³ Kissing goes by favour.

* Æneas Syl. de miser. curial. [Epist. 166.] Dantur honores in curiis non secundum honores et virtutes; sed ut quisque ditior est atque potentior, eò magis honoratur.

observes), *but as every man hath means, or more potent friends, so he is preferred.* With us in *France* (¹for so their own Countryman relates) *most part the matter is carried by favour and grace; he that can get a great man to be his mediator runs away with all the preferment. Indignissimus plerumque præfertur, Vatinius Catoni, illaudatus laudatissimo;*²

— Servi dominantur; aselli
Ornantur phaleris, dephealerantur equi.³

An illiterate fool sits in a man's seat, and the common people hold him learned, grave, and wise. *One professeth* (⁴Cardan well notes) *for a thousand Crowns, but he deserves not ten, when as he that deserves a thousand cannot get ten. Salarium non dat multis salem.*⁵ As good horses draw in carts as coaches. And oftentimes, which *Machiavel* seconds, *principes non sunt qui ob insignem virtutem principatu digni sunt,*⁶ he that is most worthy wants employment, he that hath skill to be a Pilot wants a Ship, and he that could govern a Common-wealth, a world itself, a King in conceit, wants means to exercise his worth, hath not a poor office to manage. And yet all this while he is a better man that is fit to reign, *etsi careat regno*, though he want a Kingdom, ⁷*than he that hath one, and knows not how to rule it.* A Lion serves not always his Keeper, but oftentimes the Keeper the Lion, and, as ⁸*Polydore Virgil* hath it, *multi reges, ut pupilli, ob inscitiam non regunt, sed reguntur.*¹⁰ *Hiero* of *Syracuse* was a brave King, but wanted a Kingdom; *Perseus* of *Macedon* had nothing of a King but the bare name and title, for he could not govern it: so great places are often ill bestowed, worthy persons unrespected. Many times too the servants have more means than the masters whom they serve, which ¹¹*Epictetus* counts an eye-sore, and inconvenient.

¹ Sesellius, lib. 2. de repub. Gallorum. Favore apud nos et gratia plerumque res agitur; et qui commodum aliquem nacti sunt intercessorem, aditum fere habent ad omnes præfecturas.

² The most unworthy is generally preferred, a Vatinius to a Cato, a person of no reputation to a person of the highest reputation.]

³ Slaves govern; asses are decked with trappings, horses have none.

⁴ Imperitus periti munus occupat, et sic apud vulgus habetur. Ille proficitur mille coronatis, cum nec decem mereatur; alius è diverso mille dignus vix decem consequi potest.

⁵ The income of many hardly pays for their salt.] ⁶ Epist. dedic. disput. Zeubeeo Bondemontio, et Cosmo Rucelaio.

⁷ Those are not Princes who are worthy of being such on account of their eminent virtue.]

⁸ Quum is qui regnat, et regnandi sit imperitus.

⁹ Lib. 22. hist.

¹⁰ Many Kings, as wards, owing to their ignorance are ruled rather than rule.]

¹¹ Ministri locupletiores sunt iis quibus ministratur. [An Fragm. 33. memoriter?]

But who can help it? It is an ordinary thing in these days to see a base impudent ass, illiterate, unworthy, insufficient, to be preferred before his betters, because he can put himself forward, because he looks big, can bustle in the world, hath a fair outside, can temporize, colloque, insinuate, or hath good store of friends and money, whereas a more discreet, modest, and better deserving, man shall lie hid, or have a repulse. 'Twas so of old, and ever will be, and which *Tiresias* advised *Ulysses* in the ¹ Poet,

— Accipe quâ ratione queas ditescere, &c.

is still in use; lie, flatter, and dissemble: if not, as he concludes,

— Ergo pauper eris,²

then go like a beggar, as thou art. *Erasmus, Melancthon, Lipsius, Budæus, Cardan*, lived and died poor. *Gesner* was a silly old man, *baculo innixus*,³ amongst all those huffing Cardinals, swelling Bishops, that flourished in his time, and rode on foot-clothes. It is not honesty, learning, worth, wisdom, that prefers men. *The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong*, but, as the wise man said, ⁴ *chance*, and sometimes a ridiculous chance. ⁵ *Casus plerumque ridiculus multos elevavit*. 'Tis fortune's doings, as they say, which made *Brutus* now dying exclaim, *O misera virtus! ergo nihil quàm verba eras; atqui ego te tanquam rem exercebam, sed tu serviebas fortune*.⁶ Believe it hereafter, O my friends! Virtue serves fortune. Yet be not discouraged (O my well-deserving spirits) with this which I have said, it may be otherwise, though seldom I confess, yet sometimes it is. But to your further content, I'll tell you a ⁷ tale. In *Moronia Pia*, or *Moronia Felix*,⁸ I know not whither, nor how long since, nor in what Cathedral Church, a fat Prebend fell void. The carcass scarce cold, many suitors were up in an instant. The first had rich friends, a good purse, and he was resolved to outbid any man before he would lose it, every man supposed he should carry it. The second was my Lord Bishop's Chaplain (in whose gift it was), and he thought

¹ Hor. lib. 2. Sat. 5. [10. Learn how you may grow rich.] [² Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 19, 20.] [³ Ovid, Met. viii. 218. leaning on his staff.] [⁴ Solomon, Eccles. ix. 11. ⁵ Sat. Merip. [⁶ Plutarch, De Superstitione, § i. Dion Cassius, xlvii. 49. O wretched virtue! you are then nothing but a name, and I have all this time been looking upon you as a reality, while you are yourself the slave of fortune.] [⁷ Tale quid est apud Valent. Andrean Apolog. manip. 5. apol. 39. [⁸ No doubt Burton got his *Moronia Pia* and *Moronia Felix* from Bishop Hall's *Mundus alter et idem*, Book iii. But this story is not there.]

it his due to have it. The third was nobly born, and he meant to get it by his great parents, patrons, and allies. The fourth stood upon his worth, he had newly found out strange mysteries in Chemistry, and other rare inventions, which he would detect to the publick good. The fifth was a painful Preacher, and he was commended by the whole Parish where he dwelt, he had all the hands to his Certificate. The sixth was the Prebendary's son lately deceased, his Father died in debt (for it, as they say), left a wife and many poor children. The seventh stood upon fair promises, which to him and his noble friends had been formerly made for the next place in his Lordship's gift. The eighth pretended great losses, and what he had suffered for the Church, what pains he had taken at home and abroad, and besides, he brought Noblemen's letters. The ninth had married a kinswoman, and he sent his wife to sue for him. The tenth was a foreign Doctor, a late convert, and wanted means. The eleventh would exchange for another, he did not like the former's site, could not agree with his neighbours and fellows upon any terms, he would be gone. The twelfth and last was (a suitor in conceit) a right honest, civil, sober, man, an excellent scholar, and such a one as lived private in the University, but he had neither means nor money to compass it; besides, he hated all such courses, he could not speak for himself, neither had he any friends to solicit his cause, and therefore made no suit, could not expect, neither did he hope for, or look after it. The good Bishop, amongst a jury of competitors thus perplexed, and not yet resolved what to do, or on whom to bestow it, at the last, of his own accord, mere motion, and bountiful nature, gave it freely to the University student, altogether unknown to him but by fame; and, to be brief, the Academical Scholar had the Prebend sent him for a present. The news was no sooner published abroad but all good students rejoiced, and were much cheered up with it, though some would not believe it; others, as men amazed, said it was a miracle; but one amongst the rest thanked God for it, and said, *Nunc juvat tandem studiosum esse, et Deo integro corde servire.*¹ You have heard my tale, but alas! it is but a tale, a mere fiction, 'twas never so, never like to be, and so let it rest. Well, be it so then; they have wealth and honour, fortune and preferment, every man

[¹ At last there is some advantage in being studious, and in serving God with integrity !]

(there's no remedy) must scramble as he may, and shift as he can; yet *Cardan* comforted himself with this, *'the Star Fomahant would make him immortal*, and that *'after his decease his Books should be found in Ladies' studies.*

³ Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.

But why shouldst thou take thy neglect, thy canvas,⁴ so to heart? It may be thou art not fit, but, as a ⁵child that puts on his father's shoes, hat, headpiece, breastplate, breeches, or holds his spear, but is neither able to wield the one, or wear the other, so wouldest thou do by such an office, place, or Magistracy: thou art unfit. *And what is dignity to an unworthy man* but (as ⁶*Salvianus* holds) *a gold ring in a swine's snout?* Thou art a brute. Like a bad actor (so ⁷*Plutarch* compares such men) in a Tragedy, *diadema fert, at vox non auditur*: thou wouldest play a King's part, but actest a Clown, speakest like an ass. ⁸*Magna petis, Phaethon, et quæ non viribus istis,* &c. as *James* and *John*, the sons of *Zebedee*, did ask they knew not what; ¹⁰*nescis, temerarie, nescis*; thou dost, as another *Suffenus*,¹¹ overween thyself; thou art wise in thine own conceit, but in other more mature judgements altogether unfit to manage such a business. Or be it thou art more deserving than any of thy rank, God in his providence hath reserved thee for some other fortunes, *sic superis visum*. Thou art humble as thou art, it may be; hadst thou been preferred, thou wouldest have forgotten God and thyself, insulted over others, contemned thy friends, ¹²been a block, a tyrant, or a demi-god, *sequiturque superbia formam*.¹³ ¹⁴*Therefore, saith Chrysostom, good men do not always find grace and favour, lest they should be puffed up with turgent titles, grow insolent and proud.*

Injuries, abuses, are very offensive, and so much the more in that they think *veterem ferendo invitant novam*, by taking one they provoke another: but it is an erroneous opinion: for if that were

¹ Stella Fomahant immortalitatem dabit. ² Lib. de lib. propriis. ³ Hor. [Odes, iv. 8. 28. The muse forbids the man worthy of praise to die.] ⁴ See Nares' Glossary.] ⁵ Qui induit thoracem aut galeam, &c. ⁶ Lib. 4. de guber. Dei. Quid est dignitas indigno nisi circulus aureus in naribus suis? ⁷ In Lysandro. [§ xxiii.] ⁸ Ovid. Met. [ii. 54.] ⁹ You desire great things, Phaethon, and things beyond your strength. ¹⁰ Matt. 20. 22.] ¹¹ See Catullus, 22.] ¹² Magistratus virum indicat. [Erasmii Adagia, p. 389.] ¹³ Ovid, Fasti, i. 419. Pride goes with beauty.] ¹⁴ Ideo boni viri aliquando gratiam non accipiunt, ne in superbiâ eleventur ventositate jactantiæ, ne altitudo muneris negligentiores efficiat.

true, there would be ¹no end of abusing each other; *lis litem generat*; ¹'tis much better with patience to bear, or quietly to put it up. If an ass kick me, saith *Socrates*, shall I strike him again? and when ²his wife *Xanthippe* struck and misused him, to some friends that would have had him strike her again, he replied, that he would not make them sport, or that they should stand by and say, *Eia Socrates! Eia Xanthippe!*³ as we do when dogs fight, animate them the more by clapping of hands. Many men spend themselves, their goods, friends, fortunes, upon small quarrels, and sometimes at other men's procurements, with much vexation of spirit, and anguish of mind, all which, with good advice, or meditation of friends, might have been happily composed, or if patience had taken place. Patience in such cases is a most sovereign remedy, to put up, conceal, or dissemble it, to ⁴'forget and forgive, ⁵*not seven but seventy times, as often as he repents, forgive him*, Luke, 17. 3, as our Saviour enjoins us, stricken, to *turn the other side*:⁶ as our ⁷Apostle persuades us, *to recompense no man evil for evil, but, as much as is possible, to have peace with all men: not to avenge ourselves, and we shall heap burning coals upon our adversary's head. For⁸ if you put up wrong (as Chrysostom comments) you get the victory; he that loseth his money loseth not the conquest in this our philosophy.* If he contend with thee, submit thyself unto him first, yield to him. *Durum et durum non faciunt murum*, as the proverb is, two refractory spirits will never agree, the only means to overcome is to relent, *obsequio vinces*.⁹ *Euclides* in *Plutarch*, when his brother had angered him, swore he would be revenged; but he gently replied,¹⁰ *Let me not live if I do not make thee to love me again*, upon which meek answer he was pacified.

¹¹ Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus,
Frangis, si vires experiare tuas.

A branch if easily bended yields to thee,
Pull hard it breaks; the difference you see.

[¹ See Erasmi Adagia, p. 693.] ² Ælian. [Ælian has, it is true, one or two references to Xanthippe, but not this. No doubt Burton took this from Cardan, *De Consolatione*, Lib. iii.] [³ Go it, Socrates! go it, Xanthippe!] ⁴ *Injuriarum remedium est oblivio*, [Publius Syrus.] ⁵ Matt. xviii. 22.; Matt. v. 39. [⁶ Matt. v. 39.] ⁷ Rom. xii. 18 sq. ⁸ Si toleras injuriam, victor evadis; qui enim pecuniis privatus est, non est privatus victoria in hac philosophia. [⁹ Ovid, Am. iii. 4. 12. You will conquer by yielding.] ¹⁰ *Dispercam nisi te ultus fuero: dispercam nisi ut me deinceps ames effecero*. [Plutarch, *On Restraining Anger*, § xiv.] ¹¹ Joach. Camerarius, Embl. 21. cent. 1.

The noble family of the *Colonnas* in *Rome*, when they were expelled the City by that furious *Alexander* the Sixth, gave the bending branch therefore as an impress with this motto, *Flecti potest, frangi non potest*,¹ to signify that he might break them by force, but so never make them stoop, for they fled, in the midst of their hard usage, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and were honourably entertained by *Frederick* the King, according to their callings. Gentleness in this case might have done much more, and let thine adversary be never so perverse, it may be by that means thou mayst win him; ²*favore et benevolentia etiam immanis animus mansuescit*, soft words pacify wrath, and the fiercest spirits are so soonest overcome; ³a generous Lion will not hurt a beast that lies prostrate, nor an Elephant an innocuous creature, but is *infestus infestis*, a terror and scourge alone to such as are stubborn and make resistance. It was the symbol of *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, and he was not mistaken in it, for

⁴Quo quisque est major, magis est placabilis iræ,
Et faciles motus mens generosa capit.

A greater man is soonest pacified,
A noble spirit quickly satisfied.

It is reported by ⁵*Guilther Mapes*, an old Historiographer of ours (who lived 400 years since) that King *Edward Senior*, and *Leolin*, Prince of *Wales*, being at an interview near *Aust* upon *Severn* in *Gloucestershire*, and the Prince, sent for, refused to come to the King, he would needs go over to him: which *Leolin* perceiving, ⁶*went up to the arms in water, and, embracing his boat, would have carried him out upon his shoulders, adding that his humility and wisdom had triumphed over his pride and folly*; and hereupon was reconciled unto him, and did his homage. If thou canst not so win him, put it up; if thou beest a true Christian, a good Divine, an Imitator of Christ, (*for he was reviled, and put it up, whipped, and sought no revenge*), thou wilt pray for thine enemies, ⁷*and bless*

[¹ Just the reverse in Seneca, Thyestes, 200, "flecti non potest, frangi potest."]
² Heliodorus. [Bk. v. § 7.] ³ Reipsa reperi facilitate nihil esse homini melius et clementia. Ter. Adelph. [v. iv. 6, 7.] ⁴ Ovid. [Tristia, iii. 5. 31, 32.]
⁵ Camden in Glouc. [Trajectus.] ⁶ Usque ad pectus ingressus est aquam, &c., cymbam amplectens, sapientissime rex, ait, tua humilitas meam vicit superbiam, et sapientia triumphavit ineptiam; collum ascende quod contra te fatuus erexi, intrabis terram quam hodie fecit tuam benignitas, &c. ⁷ Chrysostom. Contumeliis affectus est et eas pertulit; opprobriis, nec ultus est; verberibus cæsus, nec vicem reddidit. ⁸ Rom. xii. 14.

them that persecute thee; be patient, meek, humble, &c. An honest man will not offer thee injury, *probus non vult*; if he were a brangling knave, 'tis his fashion so to do; where is least heart is most tongue; *quo quisque stultior, eò magis insolescit*, the more sottish he is, still the more insolent. ¹*Do not answer a fool according to his folly.* If he be thy superior, ²bear it by all means, grieve not at it, let him take his course; *Anytus* and *Meletus* ³may kill me, they cannot hurt me: as that generous *Socrates* made answer in like case.⁴ *Mens immota manet*,⁵ though the body be torn in pieces with wild horses, broken on the wheel, pinched with fiery tongs, the soul cannot be distracted. 'Tis an ordinary thing for great men to vilify and insult, oppress, injure, tyrannize, to take what liberty they list, and who dare speak against? *Miserum est ab eo lædi, à quo non possis queri*, a miserable thing 'tis to be injured of him, from whom is no appeal: ⁶and not safe to write against him that can proscribe and punish a man at his pleasure, which *Asinius Pollio* was ware of, when *Octavianus* provoked him.⁷ 'Tis hard, I confess, to be so injur'd: one of *Chilo's* three difficult things: ⁸*to keep counsel, spend his time well, put up injuries*; but be thou patient, and leave revenge unto the Lord. ⁹*Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord.* I know the Lord, saith ¹⁰*David*, will avenge the afflicted, and judge the poor. No man (as ¹¹*Plato* further adds) can so severely punish his adversary, as God will such as oppress miserable men.

¹² Iterum ille rem judicatam judicat,
Majoreque mulctâ mulctat.

If there be any Religion, any God, and that God be just, it shall be so; if thou believest the one, believe the other: *erit, erit*, it shall be so. *Nemesis* comes after, *sero sed serio*,¹³ stay but a little and thou shalt see God's just judgement overtake him.

¹ Prov. [xxvi. 4.] ² Contend not with a greater man, Prov. [Eccles. vi. 10.]
³ Occidere possunt. [⁴ Plato, Apology, p. 30. C. D.] [⁵ Virg. Æn. iv. 449.]
⁶ Non facile aut tutum in eum scribere qui potest proscribere. [⁷ Macrobius, Saturnalia, ii. 4.]
⁸ Arcana tacere, otium recte collocare, injuriam posse ferre, difficillimum. [Diog. Laert. Lib. i. cap. 3.] ⁹ Rom. xii. [19.] ¹⁰ Psal. cxl. 12.
¹¹ Nullus tam severe inimicum suum ulcisci potest, quam Deus solet miserorum oppressores. [Laws, v. p. 730. A, memoriter.] ¹² Arcturus in Plaut. [Rudens, Prol. 19, 20, memoriter. He gives judgment again on a case, and punishes with a still greater penalty.] [¹³ Cf. ὁψὲ θιάων ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λιπτά. Late but with interest.]

¹ Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Thou shalt perceive that verified of *Samuel to Agag*, 1 Sam. 15. 33 : *Thy sword hath made many women childless, so shall thy mother be childless amongst other women.* It shall be done to them, as they have done to others. *Conradinus*, that brave *Suevian* Prince, came with a well prepared army into the Kingdom of *Naples*, was taken prisoner by King *Charles*, and put to death in the flower of his youth ; a little after (*ultionem Conradini mortis*,² *Pandulphus Collinutius*, *Hist. Neap. lib. 5*, calls it) King *Charles* his own son, with 200 Nobles, was so taken prisoner, and beheaded in like sort. Not in this only, but in all other offences, *quo quisque peccat in eo punietur*,³ they shall be punished in the same kind, in the same part, like nature, eye with or in the eye, head with or in the head, persecution with persecution, lust with effects of lust ; let them march on with ensigns displayed, let drums beat on, trumpets sound *taratantara*, let them sack Cities, take the spoil of Countries, murder infants, deflower Virgins, destroy, burn, persecute, and tyrannize, they shall be fully rewarded at last in the same measure, they and theirs, and that to their desert.

⁴ Ad generum Cereris sine cæde et sanguine pauci
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

Few tyrants in their beds do die,
But stabb'd or maim'd to hell they hie.

Oftentimes too a base contemptible fellow is the instrument of God's justice to punish, to torture, to vex them, as an *ichneumon* doth a *crocodile*.⁵ They shall be recompenced according to the works of their hands, as *Haman* was hanged on the gallows he provided for *Mordecai*.⁶ *They shall have sorrow of heart, and be destroyed from under the Heaven*, *Thre. 3. 64, 65, 66.* Only be thou patient ; *'vincit qui patitur* : and in the end thou shalt be crowned. Yea, but 'tis a hard matter to do this, flesh and blood may not abide it ; 'tis *grave, grave!* No (*Chrysostom*

¹ Hor. Od. 3. 2. [31, 32.] [Rarely has punishment with its lame foot failed to catch up the sinner striding on before.] ² A Nemesis for the death of Conradinus.] ³ Wisd. xi. 16. ⁴ Juvenal. [x. 112, 113.] ⁵ The ancients thought the ichneumon devoured the eggs of the crocodile, and even entered the mouth of the crocodile, and gnawed its entrails.] ⁶ Esther, vii. 10.] ⁷ Apud Christianos non qui patitur, sed qui facit injuriam miseræst. Leo, Ser.

replies) *non est grave, ô homo*, 'tis not so grievous; 'neither had God commanded it, if it had been so difficult. But how shall it be done? *Easily*, as he follows it, *if thou shalt look to Heaven, behold the beauty of it, and what God hath promised to such as put up injuries*. But if thou resist, and go about *vim vi repellere*,² as the custom of the world is, to right thyself, or hast given just cause of offence, 'tis no injury then, but a condign punishment, thou hast deserved as much: *a te principium, in te recidet crimen quod à te fuit; peccasti, quiesce*, as Ambrose expos-tulates with Cain. lib. 3. *de Abel et Cain*. ³*Dionysius of Syracuse*, in his exile, was made to stand without door, *patientèr ferendum, fortasse nos tale quid fecimus, quum in honore essemus*, he wisely put it up, and laid the fault where it was, on his own pride and scorn, which in his prosperity he had formerly shewed others. 'Tis ⁴*Tully's* axiom, *ferre ea molestissimè homines non debent, quæ ipsorum culpâ contracta sunt*, self do, self have, as the saying is, they may thank themselves. For he that doth wrong, must look to be wronged again; *habet et musca splenem, et formicæ sua bilis inest*,⁵ the least fly hath a spleen, and a little bee a sting. ⁶As an ass overwhelmed a thisselwarp's nest, the little bird pecked his gall'd back in revenge; and the humble-bee in the fable flung down the eagle's eggs out of *Jupiter's* lap. *Brasidas*, in *Plutarch*, put his hand into a mouse-nest, and hurt her young ones, she bit him by the finger: ⁷*I see now* (saith he) *there is no creature so contemptible, that will not be revenged*. 'Tis *lex talionis*,⁸ and the nature of all things so to do. If thou wilt live quietly thyself, ⁹do no wrong to others; if any be done thee, put it up, with patience endure it. For ¹⁰*this is thank-worthy*, saith our Apostle, *if a man for conscience towards God endure grief, and suffer wrong undeserved: for what praise is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently? but if when you do well, ye suffer wrong, and take it patiently, there is thanks with God; for hereunto verily we are called*. *Qui mala non fert, ipse sibi testis est per impatientiam, quod bonus non est*, he that cannot bear injuries witnesseth against himself that he is no

¹ Neque præcepisset Deus, si grave fuisset; sed qua ratione potero? facile si cœlum suspexeris, et ejus pulchritudine, et quod pollicetur Deus, &c. [² Cic. Sext. 17. to repel force by force.] ³ Valer. lib. 4. cap. 1. ⁴ Ep. Q. Frat. [i. 1. 2.] [⁵ See Erasmi Adagia, p. 829.] ⁶ Camerarius, Emb. 75. cent. 2. ⁷ Papæ, inquit: nullum animal tam pusillum quod non cupiat ulcisci. [Plutarch, De profectibus in virtute, § viii.] ⁸ Fest. p. 363. Tit for tat.] ⁹ Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. [Lampridius, Life of Alexander Severus, cap. 51.] ¹⁰ 1 Pet. ii. [19-21.]

good man, as *Gregory* holds.¹ 'Tis the nature of wicked men to do injuries, as it is the property of all honest men patiently to bear them. *Improbis nullo flectitur obsequio.* The wolf in the ²Emblem sucked the goat, (so the shepherd would have it), but he kept nevertheless a wolf's nature; 'a knave will be a knave. Injury is on the other side a good man's foot-boy, his *fidus Achates*,³ and as a lackey follows him wheresoever he goes. Besides, *miserrima est fortuna quæ inimico caret*,⁴ he is in a miserable estate that wants enemies:⁵ it is a thing not to be avoided, and therefore with more patience to be endured. *Cato Censorius*, that upright Cato, of whom *Paterculus*⁶ gives that honourable *elogium*, *benè fecit quod aliter facere non potuit*,⁷ was ¹⁰50 times indicted and accused by his fellow-citizens, and, as ¹¹*Ammianus* well hath it, *quis erit innocens si clam vel palam accusasse sufficiat?* if it be sufficient to accuse a man openly or in private, who shall be free? If there were no other respect than that of Christianity, Religion, and the like, to induce men to be long-suffering and patient, yet methinks the nature of injury itself is sufficient to keep them quiet, the tumults, uproars, miseries, discontents, anguish, loss, dangers, that attend upon it, might restrain the calamities of contention: for, as it is with ordinary gamesters, the gains go to the box, so falls it out to such as contend, the Lawyers get all; and therefore, if they would consider of it, *aliena pericula cautos*,¹² other men's misfortunes in this kind, and common experience, might detain them. ¹³The more they contain'd, the more they are involved in a Labyrinth of woes, and the *Catastrophe* is to consume one another, like the elephant and dragon's conflict in *Pliny*; ¹⁴the dragon got under the elephant's belly, and sucked his blood so long, till he fell down dead upon the dragon, and killed him with the fall; so both were ruin'd. 'Tis an Hydra's head, contention; the more they strive, the more they may: and, as *Praxiteles* did by his glass,¹⁵ when he

[¹ *Moralium*, Lib. xx. c. 39.] ² *Siquid in malorum proprium est inferre damna, et bonorum pedissequa est injuria.* ³ *Alciat. Emb.* ⁴ *Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurrit.* [*Hor. Epp. i. x. 24.*] [⁵ *Virg. Æn. i. 188, et alibi.*] [⁶ *Publius Syrus.*] ⁷ By many indignities we come to dignities. Tibi subijcto quæ sunt aliis, furtum, convicia, &c. Et in iis in te admissis non excandesces. *Epictetus.* [⁸ *Hist. ii. 34.*] [⁹ He did well because he could not do otherwise.] ¹⁰ *Plutarch.* Quinquagies Catoni dies dicta ab inimicis. [*vita Catonis, § 15.*] ¹¹ Lib. 18. [cap. 1.] [¹² An allusion to the well-known line, "Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum." See also *Erasmii Adagia*, p. 39.] ¹³ *Hoc scio pro certo quod si cum stercore certo, Vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor.* ¹⁴ Lib. 8. cap. 2. [¹⁵ See *Cardan, De Consolatione*, Lib. iii.]

saw a scurvy face in it, break it in pieoes : but for that one, he saw many more as bad if a moment : for one injury done, they provoke another *cum fenore*,¹ and twenty enemies for one. *Noli irritare crabrones*,² oppose not thyself to a multitude: but if thou hast received a wrong, wisely consider of it, and if thou canst possibly, compose thyself with patience to bear it. This is the safest course, and thou shalt find greatest ease to be quiet.

I say the same of scoffs, slanders, contumelies, obloquies, defamations, detractions, pasquilling libels, and the like, which may tend any way to our disgrace: 'tis but opinion: if we could neglect, contain, or with patience digest them, they would reflect on them that offered them at first. A wise Citizen, I know not whence, had a scold to his wife: when she brawled, he played on his drum, and by that means madded her more, because she saw that he would not be moved. *Diogenes* in a crowd, when one called him back, and told him how the boys laughed him to scorn, *Ego, inquit, non rideor*, took no notice of it.³ *Socrates* was brought upon the stage by *Aristophanes*, and misused to his face, but he laughed, as if it concerned him not: and, as *Ælian*⁴ relates of him, whatsoever good or bad accident or fortune befell him, going in, or coming out, *Socrates* still kept the same countenance. Even so should a Christian soldier do, as *Hierom* describes him, *per infamiam et bonam famam grassari ad immortalitatem*,⁵ march on through good and bad reports to immortality, not to be moved: for honesty is a sufficient reward, *improbitas sibi premium*; and in our time the sole recompence to do well is to do well: but naughtiness will punish itself at last. *Improbis ipsa nequitia supplicium*, as the proverb is.

Qui benè fecerunt, illi sua facta sequentur;

Qui malè fecerunt, facta sequentur eos:

They that do well, shall have reward at last;

But they that ill, shall suffer for that's past.

Yea, but I am ashamed, disgraced, dishonoured, degraded, exploded? my notorious crimes and villainies are come to light

[¹ With interest.] [² Plaut. Amph. ii. ii. 75. Don't stir up hornets.]

³ Obloquutus est, probrumque tibi intulit quispiam, sive vera is dixerit, sive falsa, maximam tibi coronam texueris, si mansuetè convicium tuleris. ⁴ Chrys. in 6. cap. ad Rom. ser. 10. [⁵ Diog. Laert. Lib. vi, cap. 2. Plut. Life of Fabius Maximus, § 10.] [⁶ Var. Hist. Lib. ix. § 7.] [⁷ Epist. 45, § 6.] ⁸ Tullius, epist. Dolabellæ. Tu forti sis animo; et tua moderatio, constantia, eorum infamet injuriam. [Ad Fam. ix. 12.] ⁹ Boethius, Consol. lib. 4. pros. 3.

(*deprendi miserum est*¹) my filthy lust, abominable oppression, and avarice, lies open, my good name's lost, my fortune's gone, I have been stigmatized, whipt at post, arraigned, and condemned, I am a common obloquy, I have lost my ears; odious, execrable, abhorred of God and men. Be content, 'tis but a nine days' wonder, and as one sorrow drives out another, one passion another, one cloud another, one rumour is expelled by another; every day almost come new news unto our ears, as how the Sun was eclipsed, meteors seen i'th' air, monsters born, prodigies, how the *Turks* were overthrown in *Persia*, an Earthquake in *Helvetia*, *Calabria*, *Japan*, or *China*, an inundation in *Holland*, a great plague in *Constantinople*, a fire at *Prague*, a dearth in *Germany*, such a man is made a Lord, a Bishop, another hang'd, deposed, pressed to death, for some murder, treason, rape, theft, oppression, all which we do hear at first with a kind of admiration, detestation, consternation, but by and by they are buried in silence: thy father's dead, thy brother robb'd, wife run's mad, neighbour hath kill'd himself; 'tis heavy, ghastly, fearful news at first, in every man's mouth, table talk; but after a while who speaks or thinks of it? It will be so with thee and thine offence, it will be forgotten in an instant, be it theft, rape, sodomy, murder, incest, treason, &c. thou art not the first offender, nor shalt thou be the last, 'tis no wonder; every hour such malefactors are called in question, nothing so common,

Quocunque in populo, quocunque sub axe,²

[In every nation, under every clime.]

Comfort thyself, thou art not the sole man. If he that were guiltless himself should fling the first stone at thee, and he alone should accuse thee that were faultless, how many executioners, how many accusers, wouldst thou have! If every man's sins were written in his forehead, and secret thoughts known, how many thousands would parallel, if not exceed, thine offence! It may be the Judge that gave sentence, the Jury that condemned thee, the spectators that gazed on thee, deserved much more, and were far more guilty than thou thyself. But it is thine infelicity to be taken, to be made a publick example of justice, to be a terror to the rest; yet should every man have his desert, thou wouldst peradventure be a Saint in comparison; *vexat censura*

[¹ Hor. Sat. i. ii. 134. 'Tis bad to be found out.]

[² Juv. xiv. 42.]

columbas,¹ poor souls are punished, the great ones do twenty thousand times worse, and are not so much as spoken of.

² Non rete accipitri tenditur neque milvio,
Qui male faciunt nobis; illis qui nil faciunt tenditur.

The net's not laid for kites or birds of prey,
But for the harmless still our gins we lay.

Be not dismayed then, *humanum est errare*,³ we are all sinners, daily and hourly subject to temptations, the best of us is an hypocrite, a grievous offender in God's sight; *Noah, Lot, David, Peter, &c.* how many mortal sins do we commit! Shall I say, be penitent, ask forgiveness, and make amends, by the sequel of thy life, for that foul offence thou hast committed? recover thy credit by some noble exploit, as *Themistocles* did, for he was a most debauched and vicious youth, *'sed juvenæ mæulas præclaris factis delevit*, but made the world amends by brave exploits; at last become a new man, and seek to be reformed. He that runs away in a battle, as *Demosthenes* said,⁵ may fight again; and he that hath a fall, may stand as upright as ever he did before. *Nemo desperet meliora lapsus*, a wicked liver may be reclaimed, and prove an honest man; he that is odious in present, hissed out, an exile, may be received again with all men's favours, and singular applause; so *Tully* was in *Rome*, *Alcibiades* in *Athens*. Let thy disgrace then be what it will, *quod fit infectum non potest esse*,⁷ that which is past cannot be recalled; trouble not thyself, vex and grieve thyself no more, be it obloquy, disgrace, &c. No better way than to neglect, condemn, or seem not to regard it, to make no reckoning of it, *Deesse robur arguit dicacitas*:⁸ if thou be guiltless, it concerns thee not.

⁹ Irrita vaniloquæ quid curas spicula linguæ,
Latrantem curatne alta Diana canem?

Doth the Moon care for the barking of a dog? They detract, scoff and rail, saith one,¹⁰ and bark at me on every side, but I, like that *Albanian* dog sometime given to *Alexander* for a present, *Indico me tibi illis solo contemptu*, I lie still and sleep, vindicate myself by contempt alone.

[¹ Juv. ii. 63.] [³ Ter. Phor. [ii. ii. 16, 17.] [⁵ An. Cic. Phil. xii. ii. § 5? Cuiusvis est errare.] [⁴ Plut. Vita Them. § ii.] [⁶ See Aulus Gellius, xvii. 21.]
[² Seneca, Thyestes, 616. [⁷ Nemo confidat nimium secundis, Nemo desperet meliora lapsis."] [⁸ Plautus, Aulularia, iv. x. 11. memoriter.] [⁹ Loquacity argues a want of strength.] [¹⁰ Camerar. Emb. 61. cent. 3. [¹⁰ Lipsius, elect. lib. 3. ult. Latrant me; jaceo, ac taceo, &c.]

¹ *Expers terroris Achilles*
Armatus :

as a tortoise in his shell, ² *virtute meâ me involvo*,³ or an urchin round, *nil moror ictus*,⁴ a lizard in camomile, I decline their fury, and am safe.

Integritas virtusque suo munimine tuta,
Non patet adversæ morsibus invidiæ :
 Virtue and integrity are their own fence,
 Care not for envy or what comes from thence.

Let them rail then, scoff, and slander, *sapiens contumeliâ non afficitur*, a wise man, *Seneca* thinks,⁵ is not moved, because he knows, *contra sycophantiæ morsum non est remedium*, there is no remedy for it: Kings and Princes, wise, grave, prudent, holy, good men, divine, all are so seryed alike. ⁶ *O Jane! à tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit, Antevorta and Postvorta*,⁷ *Jupiter's* guardians, may not help in this case, they cannot protect; *Moses* had a *Dathan*, a *Corah*, *David* a *Shimei*, God himself is blasphemed: *nondum felix es, si te nondum turba deridet*. It is an ordinary thing so to be misused; ⁸ *regium est cum benè faceris malè audire*,⁹ the chiefest men, and most understanding, are so vilified; let him take his ¹⁰ course. And, as that lusty courser in *Æsop*,¹¹ that contemned the poor ass, came by and by after with his bowels burst, a pack on his back, and was derided of the same ass: *contemnentur ab iis quos ipsi priùs contempserunt, et irridebuntur ab iis quos ipsi priùs irriserunt*, they shall be contemned and laughed to scorn of those whom they have formerly derided. Let them contemn, defame, or undervalue, insult, oppress, scoff, slander, abuse, wrong, curse and swear, feign and lie, do thou comfort thyself with a good conscience, *in sinu gaudeas*,¹² when they have all done, a ¹³ *good conscience is a continual feast*,¹⁴ innocency will vindicate itself. And which the Poet gave out of *Hercules*, *diis fruatur iratis*,¹⁵ enjoy thyself, though all the world be set against thee, contemn and say with him, *Elogium*

¹ Catullus. [64. 338.] ² The symbol of J. Kevenheder, a Carinthian Baron, saith Sambucus. [³ Hor. Odes. iii. 29. 54. 55. I wrap myself in my virtue.] [⁴ I care not for their blows.] ⁵ The symbol of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. [⁶ De Constantiâ Sapientis, cap. ii.] ⁷ Pers. Sat. i. 58. [⁸ Macrobius. Sat. i. 7.] ⁹ Magni animi est injurias despiciere, Seneca de Ira, cap. 31. [¹⁰ Plut. Vita Alexandri Magni, § 41.] ¹¹ Quid turpius quam sapientis vitam ex insipientis sermone pendere? Tullius, De Finibus. 2. 15. [¹² Fab. 328, ed. Halm.] [¹³ Rejoice at heart.] ¹⁴ Tua te conscientia salvare, in cubiculum ingredi, ubi secure requiescas. Minuit se quodammodo proba bonitas conscientiæ secretum, Boethius, l. i. Pros. 4. [¹⁵ Prov. xv. 15, memoriter.] [¹⁶ He enjoys the anger of the gods.]

*mihi præ foribus,*¹ my posy is, *not to be moved, that*² *my Palladium, my breast-plate, my buckler, with which I ward all injuries, offences, lies, slanders ; I lean upon that stake of modesty, so receive and break asunder all that foolish force of livor and spleen.* And whosoever he is that shall observe these short instructions, without all question he shall much ease and benefit himself.

In fine, if Princes would do justice, Judges be upright, Clergy men truly devout, and so live as they teach, if great men would not be so insolent, if soldiers would quietly defend us, the poor would be patient, rich men would be liberal and humble, Citizens honest, Magistrates meek, Superiors would give good example, subjects peaceable, young men would stand in awe : if Parents would be kind to their children, and they again obedient to their Parents, brethren agree amongst themselves, enemies be reconciled, servants trusty to their Masters, Virgins chaste, Wives modest, Husbands would be loving, and less jealous : if we could imitate *Christ* and his Apostles, live after God's laws, these mischiefs would not so frequently happen amongst us ; but being most part so irreconcilable as we are, perverse, proud, insolent, factious, and malicious, prone to contention, anger and revenge, of such fiery spirits, so captious, impious, irreligious, so opposite to virtue, void of grace, how should it otherwise be ? Many men are very testy by nature, apt to mistake, apt to quarrel, apt to provoke, and misinterpret to the worst every thing that is said or done, and thereupon heap unto their selves a great deal of trouble, and disquietness to others, smatterers in other men's matters, tale-bearers, whisperers, liars, they cannot speak in season, or hold their tongues when they should, *et suam partem itidem tacere, cum aliena est oratio :*⁴ they will speak more than comes to their share in all companies, and by those bad courses accumulate much evil to their own souls (*qui contendit, sibi convicium facit*) their life is a perpetual brawl, they snarl, like so many dogs, with their wives, children, servants, neighbours, and all the rest of their friends, they can agree with nobody. But to such as are judicious, meek, submissive, and quiet, these matters are easily remedied : they will forbear upon all such occasions, neglect, condemn, or take no notice of them, dissemble,

[¹ Cardan, *Actio Prima in Calumniatorem Librorum de Subtilitate.*] • ² Ringantur licet et maledicant, Palladium illud pectori oppono, non moveri : consisto ; modestiæ veluti sudi innitens, excipio et frango stultissimum impetum livoris. Putean. lib. 2. epist. 58. • Mil. Glor. Act. 3. [Sc. i.] Plautus. [⁴ Miles Glor. iii. i. 51.]

or wisely turn it off. If it be a natural impediment, as a red nose, squint eyes, crooked legs, or any such imperfection, infirmity, disgrace, reproach, the best way is to speak of it first thyself,¹ and so thou shalt surely take away all occasions from others to jest at, or contemn, that they may perceive thee to be careless of it. *Vatinus* was wont to scoff at his own deformed feet, to prevent his enemies' obloquies and sarcasms in that kind; or else by prevention, as *Cotys* King of *Thrace*, that brake a company of fine glasses presented to him with his own hands, lest he should be overmuch moved when they were broken by chance.² And sometimes again, so that it be discreetly and moderately done, it shall not be amiss to make resistance, to take down such a saucy companion; no better means to vindicate himself to purchase final peace: for he that suffers himself to be ridden, or through pusillanimity or sottishness will let every man baffle him, shall be a common laughing stock for all to flout at. As a cur that goes through a Village, if he clap his tail between his legs, and run away, every cur will insult over him, but if he bristle up himself, and stand to it, give but a counter-snarl, there's not a dog dares meddle with him. Much is in a man's courage and discreet carriage of himself.

Many other grievances there are, which happen to mortals in this life, from friends, wives, children, servants, masters, companions, neighbours, our own defaults, ignorance, errors, intemperance, indiscretion, infirmities, &c. and many good remedies to mitigate and oppose them, many divine precepts to counterpoise our hearts, special antidotes both in Scripture and human Authors, which whoso will observe shall purchase much ease and quietness unto himself. I will point at a few. Those Prophetical, Apostolical admonitions, are well known to all; what *Solomon*, *Siracides*, our Saviour *Christ* himself, hath said tending to this purpose, as, *Fear God: obey the Prince: be sober and watch: pray continually: be angry, but sin not: remember thy last: fashion not yourselves to this world, &c. apply yourselves to the times: strive not with a mighty man: recompence good for evil: let nothing be done through contention or vain-glory, but with meekness of mind, every man esteeming of others better than himself: love one another; of that Epitome of the Law and the Prophets, which our Saviour incul-*

¹ Bion said his father was a rogue, his mother a whore, to prevent obloquy, and to show that nought belonged to him but goods of the mind. [Diogenes Laertius, lib. iv. cap. 7.] [² Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Regum et Imperatorum*, p. 174.]

cates, love God above all, thy neighbour as thyself. And whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, so do unto them, which Alexander Severus writ in letters of gold, and used as a motto;¹ ²Hierom commends to Celantia as an excellent way, amongst so many enticements and worldly provocations, to rectify her life. Out of human Authors take these few cautions, ³Know thyself. ⁴Be contented with thy lot. ⁵Trust not wealth, beauty, nor parasites; they will bring thee to destruction. ⁶Have peace with all men, war with vice. ⁷Be not idle. ⁸Look before you leap. ⁹Beware of, Had I wist. ¹⁰Honour thy parents, speak well of friends. Be temperate in four things, lingua, loculis, oculis, et poculis. Watch thine eye. ¹¹Moderate thine expences. Hear much, speak little. ¹²Sustine et abstine.¹³ If thou seest ought amiss in another, mend it in thyself. Keep thine own counsel, reveal not thy secrets, be silent in thine intentions.¹⁴ Give not ear to tale-tellers, babblers, be not scurrilous in conversation. ¹⁵Jest without bitterness: give no man cause of offence: set thine house in order: ¹⁶take heed of suretyship. ¹⁷Fide et dif-fide,¹⁸ as a fox on the ice, take heed whom you trust. ¹⁹Live not beyond thy means. ²⁰Give cheerfully. Pay thy dues willingly. Be not a slave to thy money. ²¹Omit not occasion, embrace opportunity, lose no time. Be humble to thy superiors, respect to thine equals, affable to all, ²²but not familiar: flatter no man. ²³Lie not, dissemble not. Keep thy word and promise, be constant in a good resolution. Speak truth. Be not opinionative, maintain no factions. ²⁴Lay no wagers, make no comparisons. ²⁵Find no faults, meddle not with other

[¹ See Lampridius, Life of Alexander Severus, cap. 51.] [² Epist. 148, § 15.]
³ Nosce teipsum. [Juv. xi. 27.] ⁴ Contentus abi. [An reminiscence of Horace, Sat. i. i. 118, 119?] ⁵ Ne fidas opibus, neque parasitis; trahunt in præcipitum.
⁶ Pacem cum hominibus habe, bellum cum vitiis. Othon. 2. imperat. symb.
⁷ Dæmon te nunquam otiosum inveniat. Hieron. [Ad Rusticum. Epist. 125.]
⁸ Diu deliberandum quod statuendum est semel. ⁹ Insipientis est dicere non putaram. [Cic. Ad Herennium, Lib. ii. cap. xxv. § 40, memoriter.] ¹⁰ Ames parentem, si æquum; aliter, feras; præstes parentibus pietatem, amicis dilectionem.
¹¹ Comprime linguam. Quid de quoque viro et cui dicas sæpe caveto. [Hor. Epp. i. 18. 68, memoriter.] Libentius audias quam loquaris; vive ut vivas.
¹² Epictetus. Optime feceris, si ea fugeris quæ in alio reprehendis. Nemini dixeris quæ solis efferri. [¹³ Erasmi Adagia, p. 617.] ¹⁴ Fuge susurrone. Percontatorem fugito, &c. [Hor. Epp. i. 18. 69.] ¹⁵ Sint sales sine vilitate. Sen.
¹⁶ Sponde, presto noxa. [Plutarch, On Talkativeness, § xvii.] ¹⁷ Camerar. Emb.
¹⁸ 55. cent. 2. Cave cui credas, vel nemini fidas, Epicharmus. [¹⁹ Trust and distrust.]
¹⁹ Tecum habita. [Persius. iv. 52.] ²⁰ Bis dat qui cito dat. [Alciatus, Emblemata, No. 162.] ²¹ Post est occasio calva. [Cato, Dist. ii. 62.] ²² Nimia familiaritas parit contemptum. ²³ Mendacium servile vitium. ²⁴ Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis ullius unquam, Commissumque teges, Hor. lib. i. Ep. 19. Nec tua laudabis studia, aut aliena reprehendes. Hor. Ep. lib. i. 18. 39.]

men's matters. Admire not thyself. Be not proud or popular.¹ Insult not. Fortunam reverenter habe.² Fear not that which cannot be avoided. Grieve not for that which cannot be recalled. Undervalue not thyself. Accuse no man, commend no man, rashly. Go not to law without great cause. Strive not with a greater man. Cast not off an old friend. Take heed of a reconciled enemy. If thou come as a guest, stay not too long. Be not unthankful. Be meek, merciful, and patient. Do good to all. Be not fond of fair words. Be not a neuter in a faction. Moderate thy passions. Think no place without a witness. Admonish thy friend in secret, commend him in publick. Keep good company. Love others, to be beloved thyself. Ama tanquam osurus.¹² Amicus tardò fias. Provide for a tempest. Noli irritare crybrones.¹³ Do not prostitute thy soul for gain. Make not a fool of thyself to make others merry. Marry not an old crone or a fool for money. Be not over solicitous or curious. Seek that which may be found. Seem not greater than thou art. Take thy pleasure soberly. Ocymum ne terito. Live merrily as thou canst. Take heed by other men's examples. Go as thou wouldst be met, sit as thou wouldst be found, yield to the time, follow the stream. Wilt thou live free from fears and cares? Live innocently, keep thyself upright, thou needest no other keeper, &c. Look for more in *Isocrates*, *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Epictetus*, &c. and, for defect, consult with cheese-trenchers¹⁴ and painted clothes.¹⁵

¹ Ne te quæsieris extra. [Pers. i. 7.] [Does this mean, Be neither haughty, nor cheap and common?] ² Ausonius, viii. 7. Stand in awe of fortune. ³ Stultum est timere, quod vitari non potest. [Excerpta ex libris Senecæ.] ⁴ De re amissa irreparabili ne doleas. ⁵ Tanti eris aliis quanti tibi fueris. ⁶ Neminem vel laudes vel accuses. ⁷ Nullius hospitis grata est mora longa. ⁸ Solonis lex apud Aristotelem; Gellius, lib. 2. cap. 12. ⁹ Nullum locum putes sine teste, semper adesce Deum cogita. ¹⁰ Secretò amicos admone, lauda palam. [Publius Syrus.] ¹¹ Ut ameris, amabilis esto. [Ovid. A. A. ii. 107.] Eros et anteros gemelli Veneris, amatio et redamatio. Plat. [Phædr. 255 D.] ¹² Erasm. Ad. p. 434. ¹³ Plautus, Amphit. ii. ii. 75. Don't stir up hornets. ¹⁴ Dum fata sinunt, vivite læti, Seneca. [Herc. Fur. 177.] ¹⁵ Id apprimè in vita utile, ex aliis observare sibi quod ex usu siet. Ter. [Andria, i. i. 61, memoriter.] ¹⁶ Dum furor in cursu currenti cede furori. [Ovid, Remed. 119.] • Cretizandum cum Crete. [Erasm. Adagia, pp. 81, 82.] Tempus servi, nec contra flamina flato. ¹⁷ Nulla certior custodia innocentia: inexpugnabile munimentum munimento non egere. [See Nares' Glossary, ed. Halliwell.] ¹⁸ See Variorum Shakspeare, ed. 1803, vol. viii. p. 103.]

MEMB. VIII.

Against Melancholy itself.

EVERY man, saith ¹*Seneca*, thinks his own burthen the heaviest, and a melancholy man above all others complains most; weariness of life, abhorring all company and light, fear, sorrow, suspicion, anguish of mind, bashfulness, and those other dread symptoms of body and mind, must needs aggravate this misery; yet, conferred to other maladies, they are not so heinous as they be taken. For first, this disease is either in habit, or disposition, curable, or incurable. If new and in disposition, 'tis commonly pleasant, and it may be helped. If inveterate, or an habit, yet they have *lucida intervalla*,² sometimes well, and sometimes ill; or if more continue, as the ³*Veientes* were to the *Romans*, 'tis *hostis assiduus magis quàm gravis*,⁴ a more durable enemy than dangerous: and, amongst many inconveniences, some comforts are annexed to it. First, it is not catching, and, as *Erasmus* comforted himself, when he was grievously sick of the stone, though it was most troublesome, and an intolerable pain to him, yet it was no whit offensive to others, not loathsome to the spectators, ghastly, fulsome, terrible, as plagues, apoplexies, leprosies, wounds, sores, tetters, pox, pestilent agues are, which either admit of no company, terrify or offend those that are present. In this malady that which is wholly to themselves, and those symptoms not so dreadful, if they be compared to the opposite extremes. They are most part bashful, suspicious, solitary, &c., therefore no such ambitious, impudent intruders, as some are, no sharkers, no cony-catchers, no prowlers, no smell-feasts, praters, panders, parasites, bawds, drunkards, whoremasters; necessity and defect compels them to be honest; as *Micio* told *Demea* in the ⁵comedy,

Hæc si neque ego neque tu fecimus,
Non siit egestas facere nos;

if we be honest, 'twas poverty made us so: if we melancholy men be not as bad as he that is worst, 'tis our Dame Melancholy kept us so:

Non deerat voluntas sed facultas.⁶

Besides, they are freed in this from many other infirmities,

¹ Uniuersum suum onus intolerabile videtur. [2 Lucid intervals.] ³ Livius. [2. 48.] ⁴ Livy, ii. 48.] ⁵ Ter. A. i. Scen. 2. Adelphi. [23, 24.] ⁶ 'Twas not the will but the means that was wanting.]

solitariness makes them more apt to contemplate, suspicion wary, which is a necessary humour in these times ;¹ *nam, pol, qui maxime cavet, is saepe cautor captus est*, he that takes most heed is often circumvented and overtaken. Fear and sorrow keep them temperate and sober, and free them from many dissolute acts, which jollity and boldness thrust men upon : they are therefore no *sicarii*, roaring boys, thieves, or assassins. As they are soon dejected, so they are as soon by soft words and good persuasions reared. Wearisomeness of life makes them they are not so besotted on the transitory vain pleasures of the world. If they dote in one thing, they are wise and well understanding in most other. If it be inveterate, they are *insensati*, most part doting, or quite mad, insensible to any wrongs, ridiculous to others, but most happy and secure to themselves. Dotage is a state which many much magnify and commend : so's simplicity and folly, as he said, ² *hic furor, o Superi, sit mihi perpetuus!* Some think fools and dizzards live the merriest lives, as *Ajax in Sophocles, Nihil scire vita jucundissima*,³ 'tis the pleasantest life to know nothing ; *iners malorum remedium ignorantia*,⁴ ignorance is a down-right remedy of evils. . These curious Arts, and laborious Sciences, *Galen's, Tully's, Aristotle's, Justinian's*, do but trouble the world, some think ; we might live better with that illiterate *Virginian*⁵ simplicity and gross ignorance ; entire idiots do best ; they are not macerated with cares, tormented with fears, and anxiety, as other wise men are : for, as ⁶ he said, if folly were a pain, you should hear them howl, roar, and cry out in every house, as you go by in the street, but they are most free, jocund and merry, and in some ⁷ Countries, as amongst the *Turks*, honoured for Saints, and abundantly maintained out of the common stock.⁸ They are no dissemblers, liars, hypocrites, for fools and mad men tell commonly truth. In a word, as they are distressed, so are they pitied, which some hold better than to be envied, better to be sad than merry, better to be foolish and quiet *quàm sapere et ringi*,⁹ [than] to be wise, and still vexed ; better to be miserable than happy ; of two extremes it is the best.

¹ Plautus. [Captivi. ii. ii. 6. memoriter.] ² Petronius, Catal. [Ye gods, may this madness be perpetual with me !] ³ Sophocles, Ajax, 554.] ⁴ Seneca, Oedipus, 515.]

[⁵ Qu. Virgilian? An allusion to Virg. Georg. ii. 458-474.] ⁶ Parmeno Cælestinæ, Act. 8. Si stultitia dolor esset, in nulla non domo ejulatus audires. ⁷ Busbequius. Sands, lib. 1. fol. 89. ⁸ Quis hodie beator, quam cui licet stultum esse, et eorumdem immunitatibus frui? Sat. Menip. : [⁹ Hor. Epp. ii. ii. 128.]

SECT. IV. MEMB. I.

SUBSECT. I.—Of Physick which cureth with Medicines.

AFTER a long and tedious discourse of these six non-natural things, and their several rectifications, all which are comprehended in Diet, I am come now at last to *Pharmaceutice*, or that kind of Physick which cureth by Medicines, which Apothecaries most part make, mingle, or sell in their shops. Many cavil at this kind of Physick, and hold it unnecessary, unprofitable to this or any other disease, because those Countries which use it least live longest, and are best in health, as ¹ *Hector Boethius* relates of the Isles of *Orcades*, the people are still sound of body and mind without any use of Physick, they live commonly 120 years; and *Ortelius*, in his *Itinerary* of the Inhabitants of the Forest of *Arden*, ² *they are very painful, long-lived, sound, &c.* ³ *Martianus Capella*, speaking of the *Indians* of his time, saith, they were (much like our western *Indians* now) *bigger than ordinary men, bred coarsely, very long-lived, insomuch that he that died at an hundred years of age went before his time, &c.* *Damianus A-Goes*, *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Aubanus Bohemus*, say the like of them that live in *Norway*, *Lapland*, *Finmark*, *Biarmia*, *Corelia*, all over *Scandia*, and those Northern Countries, they are most healthful and very long-lived, in which places there is no use at all of Physick, the name of it is not once heard. *Dithmarus Bleskenius*, in his accurate description of *Iceland*, 1607, makes mention amongst other matters of the inhabitants, and their manner of living, *“which is dried fish instead of bread, butter, cheese, and salt-meats, most parts they drink water and whey, and yet without Physick or Physician they live many of them 250 years.* I find the same relation by *Lerius*, and some other Writers, of *Indians* in *America*. *Paulus Jovius*, in his description of *Britain*, and *Levinus Lemnius*, observe as much of this our Island, that there was of old no use of ⁴ Physick amongst us, and but little at this day, except it be for a few nice idle Citizens, surfeiting Courtiers, and stall-fed

¹ Lib. Hist. ² *Parvo viventes, laboriosi, longævi, suo contenti, ad centum annos vivunt.* ³ Lib. 6. de Nup. Philol. Ultra humanam fragilitatem prolixi, ut immaturè pereat qui centenarius moriatur, &c. ⁴ *Victus eorum caseo et lacte consistit, potus aqua et seipsum, pisces loco panis habent, ita multos annos sæpe 250 absque medico et medicina vivunt.* ⁵ Lib. de 4. complex.

Gentlemen lubbers. The country people use kitchen Physick, and common experience tells us that they live freest from all manner of infirmities that make least use of Apothecaries Physick. Many are overthrown by preposterous use of it, and thereby get their bane, that might otherwise have escaped; ¹ some think Physicians kill as many as they save, and who can tell

² Quot Themison ægros autumnno occiderit uro?

how many murders they make in a year, *quibus impunè licet hominem occidere*, that may freely kill folks, and have a reward for it? and, according to the Dutch proverb, a new Physician must have a new Church-yard; and who daily observes it not? Many that did ill under Physicians' hands have happily escaped when they have been given over by them, left to God and Nature and themselves. 'Twas *Pliny's dilemma* of old, ³ *Every disease is either curable or incurable, a man recovers of it or is killed by it; both ways Physick is to be rejected. If it be deadly, it cannot be cured; if it may be helped, it requires no Physician; Nature will expel it of itself.* *Plato* made it a great sign of an intemperate and corrupt Commonwealth, where Lawyers and Physicians did abound; ⁴ and the *Romans* distasted them so much, that they were often banished out of their City, as *Pliny* and *Celsus* relate, for 600 years not admitted. It is no Art at all, as some hold, no not worthy the name of a liberal science (nor Law neither) as ⁵ *Pet. And. Canonherius*, a Patrician of *Rome*, and a great Doctor himself, *one of their own tribe*, proves by 16 Arguments, because it is mercenary as now used, base, and as Fiddlers play for a reward. *Juridicis, medicis, fisco fas vivere raptis*; ⁶ 'tis a corrupt Trade, no Science, Art, no Profession; the beginning, practice and progress of it, all is naught, full of imposture, uncertainty, and doth generally more harm than good. The Devil himself was the first inventor of it: *Inventum est medicina meum*, ⁷ said *Apollo*: and what was *Apollo*, but the Devil? The *Greeks* first made an Art of it, and they were all deluded by *Apollo's* Sons, Priests, Oracles. If we may believe *Varron*, *Pliny*, *Columetta*,

¹ Per mortes agunt experimenta et animas nostras negotiantur; et quod aliis exitiale hominem occidere iis impunitas summa. *Plinius*. [N. H. xxix. 8. memoriter.] ² *Juven.* [x. 221.] ³ Omnis morbus lethalis aut curabilis, in vitam definit aut in mortem. Utrouque igitur modo medicina inutilis; si lethalis, curari non potest; si curabilis, non requirit medicum: natura expellet.

[⁴ See *Rep.* p. 373.] ⁵ In interpretationes politico-morales in 7 Aphorism. *Hippoc.* libros. [⁶ Lawyers and doctors on the public line. This line is quoted by Sir John Harrington. An Apologie of Poetrie. Preface to his translation of Ariosto.] ⁷ *Ovid.* M. l. 521. Medicine is my invention.]

most of their best medicines were derived from his Oracles. *Æsculapius* his son had his Temples erected to his Deity, and did many famous cures, but, as *Lactantius* holds, he was a Magician, a mere Impostor, and as his successors, *Phaon*, *Podalirius*, *Melampus*, *Menecrates* (another God) by charms, spells, and ministry of bad spirits, performed most of their cures. The first that ever wrote in Physick to any purpose was *Hippocrates*, and his Disciple and Commentator *Galen*, whom *Scaliger* calls *fimbriam Hippocratis*,¹ but, as ²*Cardan* censures them, both immethodical and obscure, as all those old ones are, their precepts confused, their medicines obsolete, and now most part rejected. Those cures which they did, *Paracelsus* holds, were rather done out of their Patients' confidence,³ and good opinion they had of them, than out of any skill of theirs, which was very small, he saith, they themselves idiots and infants, as are all their Academical followers. The *Arabians* received it from the *Greeks*, and so the *Latins*, adding new precepts and medicines of their own, but so imperfect still, that through ignorance of Professors, Impostors, Mountebanks, Empiricks, disagreeing of Sectaries, (which are as many almost as there be diseases), envy, covetousness, and the like, they do much harm amongst us. They are so different in their consultations, prescriptions, mistaking many times the parties' constitution,⁴ disease, and causes of it, they give quite contrary Physick.⁵ One saith this, another that, out of singularity or opposition, as he said of *Adrian*,⁶ *multitudo medicorum Principem interfecit*, a multitude of Physicians hath killed the Emperor; *plus à medico quam à morbo periculi*, more danger there is from the Physician than from the disease. Besides, there is much imposture and malice amongst them. All Arts (saith ⁷*Cardan*) admit of cozening, Physick amongst the rest doth appropriate it to herself; and tells a story of one *Curtius*, a Physician in *Venice*, because he was a stranger, and practised amongst them, the rest of the Physicians did still cross him in all his precepts. If he prescribed hot medicines, they would prescribe cold, *miscentes pro calidis frigida, pro frigidis humida, pro purgantibus astringentia*, binders for purgatives, *omnia*

[¹ A mere imitator of Hippocrates.] ² Præfat. de contrad. med. ³ Opinio facit medicos: a fair gown, a velvet cap, the name of a Doctor is all in all.

⁴ Morbus alius pro alio curatur; aliud remedium pro alio. ⁵ Contrarias proferunt sententias. Card. [⁶ Xiphilini Epitome Dionis, Vita Adriani, ad fin.]

⁷ Lib. 3. de sap. Omnes artes fraudem admittunt, sola medicina sponte eam accersit.

perturbabant.¹ If the party miscarried, *Curtium damnabant*,² *Curtius* killed him, that disagreed from them: if he recovered, then³ they cured him themselves. Much emulation, imposture, malice, there is amongst them: if they be honest, and mean well, yet a knave Apothecary that administers the Physick, and makes the⁴ medicine, may do infinite harm, by his old obsolete doses, adulterine drugs, bad mixtures, *quid pro quo*, &c. See *Fuchsius*, lib. 1. sect. 1. cap. 8, *Corius' Dispensatory*, and *Brassivola's Examen simpl.* &c. But it is their ignorance that doth more harm than rashness, their Art is wholly conjectural, if it be an Art, uncertain, imperfect, and got by killing of men, they are a kind of butchers, leeches, men-slayers; Chirurgeons, and Apothecaries especially, that are indeed the Physicians' hang-men, *carnifices*, and common executioners; though, to say truth, Physicians themselves come not far behind; for according to that *facete* Epigram of *Maximilianus Urentius*, what's the difference?

Chirurgicus medico quo differt? scilicet isto,

Enecat hic succis, enecat ille manu.

Carnifice hoc ambo tantum differre videntur,

Tardius hi faciunt quod facit ille citò.⁴

But I return to their skill. Many diseases they cannot cure at all, as Apoplexy, Epilepsy, Stone, Strangury, Gout,

Tollere nodosam nescit medicina Podagram;⁵

Quartan Agues, a common Ague sometimes stumbles them all; they cannot so much as ease, they know not how to judge of it. If by Pulses, that doctrine, some hold, is wholly superstitious, and I dare boldly say with *Andrew Dudeth*, that variety of pulses, described by Galen, is neither observed, nor understood of any. And for urine, that is *meretrix medicorum*, the most deceitful thing of all, as *Forestus* and some other Physicians have proved at large: I say nothing of *critick* days, errors in indications, &c. The most rational of them, and skilful, are so often deceived, that as *Tholo-*

[¹ They altered everything.] [² They set it down to *Curtius*.] [³ *Omnis agrotus propria culpa perit, sed nemo nisi medici beneficio restituitur.* *Agræpa*.]

[*De Vanit. Scient. cap. 83.*] [⁴ How does the surgeon differ from the doctor? In this respect: one kills by drugs, the other by the hand. Both only differ from the hangman in this way, they do slowly what he does quickly.] [⁵ *Ovid*, *Ex Ponto*, i. 3. 23. Medicine cannot remove the knotty gout.] [⁶ *Lib. 3. Crat. ep.*

Winceslao Raphæno. Ausim dicere tot pulsuum differentias, quæ describuntur à Galeno, nec à quoquam intelligi, nec observari posse. [⁷ *Lib. 28. cap. 7. syntax. art. mirab.* Mallem ego expertis credere solum, quam merè ratiocinantibus: neque satis laudare possum institutum *Babylonicum*, &c.]

sanus infers, *I had rather believe and commit myself to a mere Empirick than to a mere Doctor, and I cannot sufficiently commend that custom of the Babylonians, that have no professed Physicians, but bring all their patients to the market to be cured: which Herodotus relates of the Egyptians, Strabo, Sardus, and Aubanus Bohemus, of many other Nations. And those that prescribed Physick amongst them, did not so arrogantly take upon them to cure all diseases as our professors do, but some one, some another, as their skill and experience did serve. ¹One cured the eyes, a second the teeth, a third the head, another the lower parts, &c. not for gain, but in charity, to do good; they made neither art, profession, nor trade of it, which in other places was accustomed: and therefore Cambyses, in ²Xenophon, told Cyrus, that to his thinking Physicians were like Tailors and Cobblers, the one mended our sick bodies, as the other did our clothes. But I will urge these cavelling and contumelious arguments no farther, lest some Physician should mistake me, and deny me Physick when I am sick: for my part, I am well persuaded of Physick: I can distinguish the abuse from the use in this and many other Arts and Sciences; ³*Aliud vinum, aliud ebrietas*, wine and drunkenness are two distinct things. I acknowledge it a most noble and divine science, insomuch that *Apollo, Æsculapius*, and the first founders of it, *merito pro Diis habiti*, were worthily counted Gods by succeeding ages, for the excellency of their invention. And whereas *Apollo* at *Delos*, *Venus* at *Cyprus*, *Diana* at *Ephesus*, and those other Gods, were confined and adored alone in some peculiar places, *Æsculapius* had his Temple and Altars everywhere, in *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Athens*, *Thebes*, *Epidaurus*, &c., (*Pausanias* records), for the latitude of his art, Deity, worth, and necessity. With all virtuous and wise men, therefore, I honour the name, and calling, as I am enjoined to honour the Physician for necessity's sake. The knowledge of the Physician lifteth up his head, and in the sight of great men he shall be admired. • The Lord hath created medicines of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them, Eccles. 38. 1. [3, 4.] But of this noble subject how many panegyricks are worthily written! For my part, as *Sallust* said of *Carthage*, *præstat scire quam pauca**

¹ Herodotus, [ii. 84.] Apud eos singulorum morborum sunt singuli medici; alius curat oculos, alius dentes, alius caput, partes occultas alius.
² Cyrop. lib. i. Velut vestium fractarum resarcinatores, &c. [cap. vi. § 16.]
³ Chrys. Hom. [i. § 4. Ad populum Antiochenum.]

*dicere.*¹ I have said, yet one thing I will add, that this kind of Physick is very moderately and advisedly to be used, upon good occasion, when the former of diet will not take place. And 'tis no other which I say than that which *Arnoldus* prescribes in his 8 Aphoris. ²*A discreet and godly Physician doth first endeavour to expel a disease by medicinal diet, then by pure medicine:* and in his ninth, ³*he that may be cured by diet must not meddle with Physick.* So in 11 Aphoris. ⁴*A modest and wise Physician will never hasten to use medicines, but upon urgent necessity, and that sparingly too:* because (as he adds in his 13 Aphoris.) ⁵*Whosoever takes much Physick in his youth shall soon bewail it in his old age:* purgative Physick especially, which doth much debilitate nature. For which causes some Physicians refrain from the use of Purgatives, or else sparingly use them. ⁶*Henricus Ayrrerus*, in a consultation for a melancholy person, would have him take as few purges as he could, *because there be no such medicines which do not steal away some of our strength, and rob the parts of our body, weaken Nature, and cause that Cacochymia*, which ⁷*Celsus* and others observe, or ill digestion, and bad juice through all the parts of it. *Galen* himself confesseth ⁸*that purgative Physick is contrary to Nature, takes away some of our best spirits, and consumes the very substance of our bodies.* But this without question is to be understood of such purges as are unseasonably or immoderately taken; they have their excellent use in this as well as most other infirmities. Of Alteratives and Cordials no man doubts, be they simples or compounds. I will, amongst that infinite variety of medicines which I find in every *Pharmacopœia*, every Physician, Herbalist, &c. single out some of the chiefest.

[¹ De bello Jugurthino, cap. 19. It is better to be silent than say little.]

² Prudens et pius medicus morbum ante expellere satagit cibis medicinalibus quam puris medicinis.

³ Cuicunque potest per alimenta restitui sanitas, fugiendus est penitus usus medicamentorum.

⁴ Modestus et sapiens medicus nunquam properabit ad pharmaciam, nisi cogente necessitate.

⁵ Quicunque pharmacatur in juventute deflebit in senectute.

⁶ Hildesh. epic. 2. de morbi. fol. 276. Nulla est ferme medicina purgans, quæ non aliquam de viribus et partibus corporis deprædatur.

⁷ Lib. 1. et Bart. lib. 1. cap. 12.

⁸ De vict. acut. Omne purgans medicamentum, corpori purgato contrarium, &c. succos et spiritus adducit, substantiam corporis aufert.

SUBJECT. 2.—*Simples proper to Melancholy, against Exotick Simples.*

MEDICINES properly applied to Melancholy are either *Simple* or *Compound*. *Simples* are *Alterative* or *Purgative*. *Alteratives* are such as correct, strengthen Nature, alter, any way hinder or resist the disease; and they be herbs, stones, minerals, &c. all proper to this humour. For as there be divers distinct infirmities, continually vexing us,

Ἰ νόσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἢ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ
 αἰσώματος φοιτῶσι. κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσιν
 Σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξέλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς.

Diseases steal both day and night on men,
 For Jupiter hath taken voice from them:

so there be several remedies, as ²he saith, *for each disease a medicine, for every humour*; and, as some hold, every clime, every country, and more than that, every private place, hath his proper remedies growing in it, peculiar almost to the domineering and most frequent maladies of it. As ³one discourseth, *wormwood grows sparingly in Italy, because most part there they be misaffected with hot diseases; but henbane, poppy, and such cold herbs: with us in Germany and Poland great store of it in every waste.* Baracellus, Horto Geniali, and Baptista Porta, Physiognomica, lib. 6 c. 23, give many instances and examples of it, and bring many other proofs. For that cause, belike, that learned Fuchsius of Nuremberg, *when he came into a village, considered always what herbs did grow most frequently about it, and those he distilled in a silver limbeck,* making use of others amongst them as occasion served. I know that many are of opinion our Northern simples are weak, unperfect, not so well concocted, of such force, as those in the Southern parts, not so fit to be used in Physick, and will therefore fetch their drugs a'far off: *Senna, Cassia, out of Egypt, Rhubarb from Barbary, Aloes from Zagotora, Turbith, Agarick, Mirabolanes, Hermodactils, from the East Indies, Tobacco from the West, and some as far as China,*

¹ Hesiod. Op. [102-104.] ² Heurnius, præf. pra. med. Quot morborum sunt idæ, tot remediorum genera variis potentiis decorata. ³ Penotus, denar. med. Quæcunque regio producit simplicia, pro morbis regionis. Crescit raro absinthium in Italia, quod ibi plerumque morbi calidi, sed cicuta, papaver, et herbæ frigidæ; apud nos Germanos et Polonos ubique provenit absinthium. ⁴ Quum in villam venit, consideravit quæ ibi crescebant medicamenta simplicia frequentiora, et ijs plerumque usus distillatis, et aliter, alimibacum ideo argenteum circumferens.

Hellebore from the *Anticyræ*, or that of *Austria* which bears the purple flower, which *Mathiolus* so much approves, and so of the rest. In the Kingdom of *Valencia* in *Spain* ¹*Maginus* commends two mountains, *Mariola* and *Renagolosa*, famous for simples; ²*Leander Albertus*, ³*Baldus*,⁴ a mountain near the lake *Benacus*,⁵ in the territory of *Verona*, to which all the herbalists in the Country continually flock: *Ortelius* one in *Apulia*, *Munster Mons Major* in *Histria*: others *Montpelier* in *France*. *Prosper Alpinus* prefers *Egyptian* simples, *Garcias ab Horto Indian* before the rest, another those of *Italy*, *Crete*, &c. Many times they are overcurious in this kind, whom *Fuchsius* taxeth, *Instit. l. 1. sect. 1. cap. 1.* ⁶*that they think they do nothing except they rake all over India, Arabia, Æthiopia, for remedies, and fetch their Physick from the three quarters of the World, and from beyond the Garamantes. Many an old wife or country woman doth often more good with a few known and common garden herbs than our bombast Physicians with all their prodigious, sumptuous, far-fetched, rare, conjectural medicines.* Without all question, if we have not these rare Exotick simples, we hold that at home which is in virtue equivalent unto them; ours will serve as well as theirs, if they be taken in proportionable quantity, fitted and qualified aright, if not much better, and more proper to our constitutions. But so 'tis for the most part, as *Pliny* writes to *Gullus*, ⁷*we are careless of that which is near us, and follow that which is afar off, to know which we will travel and sail beyond the Seas, wholly neglecting that which is under our eyes.* *Opium* in *Turkey* doth scarce⁸ offend, with us in a small quantity it stupifies; *cicuta* (or hemlock) is a strong poison in *Greece*, but with us it hath no such violent effects. I conclude with *J. Voschius*, who, as he much inveighs against those exotick medicines, so he promiseth by our *European* a full cure, and absolute, of all diseases; *à capite ad calcem, nostræ regionis herbæ nostris corporibus magis conducunt*, our own simples agree best with us. It was a thing that *Fernelius* much laboured in his *French* practice, to reduce all his cure to our

¹ *Herbæ medicis utiles omnium in Apulia feracissimæ.* ² *Geog. ad quos magnus herbariorum numerus undique confluit. Sincerus, Itiner. Gallia.* ³ *Baldus Mons prope Benacum herbilegis maxime notus.* [⁴ *M. Baldo.*] [⁵ *Now Lago Di Garda.*] ⁶ *Qui se nihil effecisse arbitrantur nisi Indiam, Æthiopiam, Arabiam, et ultra Garamantas, à tribus mundi partibus exquisita remedia corradunt. Tutius sæpe medetur rustica anus una, &c.* ⁷ *Ep. lib. 8. [cap. 20.] Proximorum incuriosi longinqua sectamur, et ad ea cognoscenda iter ingredi et mare transmittere solemus; at quæ sub oculis posita negligimus.*

proper and domestick Physick: so did ¹*Janus Cornarius*, and *Martin Rulandus*, in *Germany*, *T. B.* with us, as appeareth by a treatise of his divulged in our tongue 1615, to prove the sufficiency of *English* medicines to the cure of all manner of diseases. If our simples be not altogether of such force, or so apposite, it may be, if like industry were used, those far fetched drugs would prosper as well with us as in those Countries whence now we have them, as well as Cherries, Artichokes, Tobacco, and many such. There have been divers worthy Physicians, which have tried excellent conclusions in this kind, and many diligent, painful, Apothecaries, as *Gesner*, *Besler*, *Gerard*, &c. but amongst the rest, those famous publick Gardens of *Padua* in *Italy*, *Nuremberg* in *Germany*, *Leyden* in *Holland*, *Montpelier* in *France*, (and ours in *Oxford* now in fieri, [being constructed] at the cost and charges of the Right Honourable the Lord *Danvers*, Earl of *Danby*), are much to be commended, wherein all exotick plants almost are to be seen, and liberal allowance yearly made for their better maintenance, that young students may be the sooner informed in the knowledge of them: which, as ²*Fuchsius* holds, *is most necessary for that exquisite manner of curing*, and as great a shame for a Physician not to observe them as for a workman not to know his axe, saw, square, or any other tool which he must of necessity use.

SUBSECT. 3.—*Alteratives, Herbs, other Vegetals, &c.*

AMONGST those 800 simples, which *Galeottus* reckons up, *lib. 3. de promisc. doctor. cap. 3.* and many exquisite Herbalists have written of, these few following alone I find appropriated to this humour: of which some be Alteratives; ³*which by a secret force*, saith *Renodeus*, *and special quality, expel future diseases, perfectly cure those which are, and many such incurable effects.* This is as well observed in other plants, stones, minerals, and creatures, as in herbs, in other maladies, as in this. How many things are related of a man's skull! What several virtues of corns in a horse's leg, ⁴of a wolf's liver, &c. of divers ⁵excrements of beasts, all good

¹ Exotica rejectit, domesticis solum nos contentos esse voluit. Melch. Adamus vit. ejus. ² Instit. l. 1. cap. 8. sec. 1. ad exquisitam curandi rationem, quorum cognitio imprimis necessaria est.

³ Quæ cæca vi ac specifica qualitate morbos futuros arcant. lib. 1. cap. 10. Instit. Phar. ⁴ Galen, lib. Hepar lupi hepaticos curat. ⁵ Stercus pecoris ad epilepsiam, &c.

against several diseases ! What extraordinary virtues are ascribed unto plants ! ¹*Satyrion et eruca penem erigunt ; vitex et nymphaea semen exstinguunt*, ²some herbs provoke lust ; some again, as *Agnus Castus*, waterlily, quite extinguish seed ; poppy causeth sleep, cabbage resisteth drunkenness, &c. and that which is more to be admired, that such and such plants should have a peculiar virtue to such particular parts, ³as to the head Aniseeds, Foalfoot, Betony, Calamint, Eye-bright, Lavender, Bays, Roses, Rue, Sage, Marjoram, Peony, &c. for the lungs Calamint, Liquorice, Enula Campana, Hyssop, Horehound, Water Germander, &c. for the heart Borage, Bugloss, Saffron, Balm, Basil, Rosemary, Violet, Roses, &c. for the stomach Wormwood, Mints, Betony, Balm, Centaury, Sorel, Purslain ; for the liver Dartsapine or *Chamaepitys*, Germander, Agrimony, Fennel, Endive, Succory, Liverwort, Barberries ; for the spleen Maidenhair, Finger-fern, Dodder of Thyme, Hop, the rind of Ash, Betony ; for the Kidnies Grumel, Parsley, Saxifrage, Plantain, Mallow ; for the womb ⁴*Mugwort*, Pennyroyal, Fetherfew, Savine, &c. for the joints Camomile, S. John's wort, Organ, Rue, Cowslips, Centaury the less, &c. and so to peculiar diseases. To this of Melancholy you shall find a Catalogue of Herbs proper, and that in every part. See more in *Wecker, Renodeus, Hearnius, lib. 2. cap. 19, &c.* I will briefly speak of them, as first of Alteratives, which *Galen*, in his third book of diseased parts, prefers before diminutives, and *Trallianus* brags that he hath done more cures on melancholy men ⁵by moistening than by purging of them.

In this Catalogue Borage and Bugloss may challenge the chiefest place, whether in substance, juice, roots, seeds, flowers, leaves, decoctions, distilled waters, extracts, oils, &c. for such kind of herbs be diversely varied. Bugloss is hot and moist, and therefore worthily reckoned up amongst those herbs which expel melancholy, and ⁶exhilarate the heart, *Galen, lib. 6. cap. 80. de simpl. med. Dioscorides, lib. 4. cap. 123.* *Pliny* much magnifies this plant. It may be diversely used ; as in ⁷Broth, in ⁸Wine, in Conserves, Syrops, &c. It is an excellent cordial, and against this malady most frequently prescribed : an herb indeed of such

¹ *P.* Testpintle, rocket. [N.B.—Pintle = Penis. A corruption of Pendulum.]

² *Sabina fetum educit.*

³ *Wecker. Vide Oswaldum Cröllium, lib. de internis rerum signaturis, de herbis particularibus parti cuique convenientibus.*

⁴ *Idem Laurentius, cap. 9.*

⁵ *Dicor Borage, gaudia semper ago.*

⁶ *Vino infusum*

hilaritatem facit.

sovereignty that, as *Diodorus, lib. 7. bibl. Plinius, lib. 25. cap. 2. et lib. 21. cap. 22, Plutarch, Sympos. lib. 1. cap. 1, Dioscorides, lib. 5. cap. 40, Cælius, lib. 19. c. 3*, suppose, it was that famous *Nepenthes* of ¹*Homer*, which *Polydamna*, *Thon's* wife, (then King of *Thebes* in *Aegypt*), sent *Helen* for a token, of such rare virtue that, if taken steeped in wine, if wife and children, father and mother, brother and sister, and all thy dearest friends, should die before thy face, thou couldst not grieve or shed a tear for them.

Qui semel id patera mistum Nepenthes Iaccho
Hauserit, hic lacrimam, non si suavissima proles,
Si germanus ei carus, materque paterque
Oppetat, ante oculos ferro confossus atroci.

Helen's commended bowl to exhilarate the heart had no other ingredient, as most of our criticks conjecture, than this of Borage.

Melissophyllon, Balm, hath an admirable virtue to alter Melancholy, be it steeped in our ordinary drink, extracted, or otherwise taken. *Cardan, lib. 8*, much admires this herb. It heats and dries, saith ²*Heurnius*, in the second degree, with a wonderful virtue comforts the heart, and purgeth all melancholy vapours from the spirits, *Matthiol. in lib. 3. c. 10, in Dioscoridem*. Besides they ascribe other virtues to it, ³*as to help concoction, to cleanse the brain, expel all careful thoughts and anxious imaginations*. The same words in effect are in *Avicenna, Pliny, Simon Sethi, Fuchsius, Leobel, Delacampius, and every Herbalist*. Nothing better for him that is melancholy than to steep this and Borage in his ordinary drink.

Matthiolus, in his fifth book of Medicinal Epistles, reckons up *Scorzonera*, ⁴*not against poison only, falling sickness, and such as are vertiginous, but to this malady; the root of it taken by itself expels sorrow, causeth mirth and lightness of heart*.

Antonius Musa, that renowned Physician to *Cæsar Augustus*,⁵ in his book which he writ of the virtues of *Betony*, *cap. 6*, wonderfully commends that herb, *animas hominum et corpora custodit, securas de metu reddit*, it preserves both body and mind from fears, cares, griefs, cures falling-sickness, this and many other diseases;

¹ *Odys.* [iv. 221-230.] ² *Lib. 2. cap. 2. prax. med. Mira* vi lætitiā præbet, et cor confirmat; vapores melancholicos purgat a spiritibus.

³ *Proprietas est* ejus animum hilarem reddere, concoctionem juvare, cerebri obstructions rescare, sollicitudines fugare, sollicitas imaginationes tollere.

⁴ *Non solum ad viperarum morsus, comitiales, vertiginosos; sed pæse accommodata radix tristitiam discutit, hilaritatemque conciliat.* [⁵ See *Sueton. Divus Augustus, capp. 59, 81.*]

to whom *Galen* subscribes, *lib. 7. simpl. med. Dioscorides, lib. 4. cap. 1. &c.*

Marigold is much approved against Melancholy, and often used therefore in our ordinary broth, as good against this and many other diseases.

Lupulus, Hop, is a sovereign remedy; *Fuchsius, cap. 58. Plant. Hist.* much extols it; *it purgeth all choler, and purifies the blood. Matthiol. cap. 140, in 4. Dioscor.* wonders the Physicians of his time made no more use of it, because it rarifies and cleanseth: we use it to this purpose in our ordinary beer, which before was thick and fulsome.

Wormwood, Centaury, Pennyroyal, are likewise magnified and much prescribed (as I shall after shew) especially in Hypochondriack Melancholy, daily to be used, sod in whey: and, as *Ruffus Ephesius, Aretæus*, relate, by breaking wind, helping concoction, many melancholy men have been cured with the frequent use of them alone.

And because the spleen and blood are often misaffected in Melancholy, I may not omit Endive, Succory, Dandelion, Fumitory, &c. which cleanse the blood: *Scolopendria, Cuscuta, Ceterach, Mugwort, Liverwort, Ash, Tamarisk, Genist, Maidenhair, &c.* which much help and ease the spleen.

To these I may add Roses, Violets, Capers, Fetherfew, Scordium, Stœchas, Rosemary, Ros Solis, Saffron, Ocyme, sweet Apples, Wine, Tobacco, Sanders,³ &c. that Peruvian Chamico, *monstrôsà facultatē, &c. Linshcosteus Datura*; and to such as are cold the decoction of Guaiacum, China, Sarsaparilla, Sassafras, the flowers of *Carduus Benedictus*, which I find much used by *Montanus* in his consultations, *Julius Alexandrinus, Lælius, [à Fonte] Eugubinus*, and others. *Bernardus Penottus* prefers his *Herba Solis*, or Dutch-Sindaw, before all the rest in this disease, and will admit of no herb upon the earth to be comparable to it. It excels *Homer's Moly*,⁶ cures this, falling-sickness, and almost all other infirmities. The same *Penottus* speaks of an excellent Balm out of *Aponensis*, which, taken to the quantity of three drops in a

¹ Bilem utramquē detrahit, sanguinem purgat. ² Lib. 7. cap. 5. Læt. Occid. *Inde* descript. lib. 10. cap. 2. [³ = Sandalwood.] ⁴ Heurnius, l. 2. consil. 185. Scoltzii, consil. 77. ⁵ Præf. denar. med. Omnes capitis dolores et phantasmata tollit; scias nullam herbam in terris hujc comparandam viribus et bonitate nasci. [⁶ Homer, *Od. x.* 305.]

cup of wine, ¹ will cause a sudden alteration, drive away dumps, and cheer up the heart. *Ant. Guianerius*, in his Antidotary, hath many such. ² *Jacobus de Dondis*, the Aggregator, repeats Ambergrease, Nutmegs, and Allspice amongst the rest. But that cannot be general. Amber and Spice will make a hot brain mad, good for cold and moist. *Garcias ab Horto* hath many Indian Plants, whose virtues he much magnifies in this disease. *Lemnius*, *instit. cap. 58*, admires Rue, and commends it to have excellent virtue, to ³ expel vain imaginations, Devils, and to ease afflicted souls. Other things are much magnified by ⁴ writers, as an old Cock, a Ram's head, a Wolf's heart-borne or eaten, which *Mercurialis* approves; *Prosper Alpinus* the water of *Nilus*, *Gomesius* all Sea water, and at seasonable times to be sea-sick: Goat's-milk, Whey, &c.

SUBJECT. 4.—*Precious Stones, Metals, Minerals, Alteratives.*

PRECIOUS Stones are diversely censured; many explode the use of them or any Minerals in Physick, of whom *Thomas Erastus* is the chief, in his Tract against *Paracelsus*, and in an Epistle of his to *Peter Monavius*. ⁵ *That stones can work any wonders let them believe that list; no man shall persuade me, for my part I have found by experience there is no virtue in them.* But *Matthiæus*, in his Comment upon ⁶ *Dioscorides*, is as profuse on the other side in their commendation; so is *Cardan*, *Renodeus*, *Alardus*, *Rueius*, *Encelius*, *Marbodeus*, &c. ⁷ *Matthiæus* specifies in Coral, and *Oswaldus Crollius*, *Basil. chym.* prefers the salt of Coral. ⁸ *Christoph. Encelius*, *lib. 3. cap. 131*, will have them to be as so many several medicines against melancholy, sorrow, fear, dulness, and the like. ⁹ *Renodeus* admires them, *besides they adorn Kings' Crowns, grace the fingers, enrich our household-stuff, defend us from enchantments,*

• ¹ Optimum medicamentum in celeri cordis confortatione, et ad omnes qui tristantur, &c. ² *Rondeletius*, Elenum quod vim habet miram ad hilaritatem, et multi pro secreto habent. *Skenkius*, observ. med. cen. 5. observ. 86. ³ Afflictas mentes relevat, animi imaginationes et Dæmones expellit. ⁴ *Skenkius*, *Mizaldus*, *Rhasis*. ⁵ *Cratonis*, ep. vol. 1. Credat qui vult gemmas mirabilia efficere; mihi, qui et ratione et experientia didici aliter rem habere, nullis facile persuadebit falsum esse verum. ⁶ L. de gemmis. ⁷ *Margaritæ* et corallum ad melancholiam præcipue valent. ⁸ *Margaritæ* et gemmæ spiritus confortant et cor, melancholiam fugant. ⁹ Præfat. ad lap. prec. lib. 2. sect. 2. de mat. med. Regum coronas ornant, digitos illustrant, suppellectilem ditant, a fascino tuentur, morbis medentur, sanitatem conservant, mentem exhilarant, tristitiam pellunt.

preserve health, cure diseases, they drive away grief, cares, and exhilarate the mind. The particulars be these.

Granatus, a precious stone so called, because it is like the kernels of a Pomegranate, an unperfect kind of Ruby, it comes from *Calicut*; ¹ *if hung about the neck, or taken in drink, it much resisteth sorrow, and recreates the heart.* The same properties I find ascribed to the *Jacinth* and *Topaz*, ² they allay anger, grief, diminish madness, much delight and exhilarate the mind. ³ *If it be either carried about, or taken in a potion, it will increase wisdom, saith Cardan, expel fear; he brags that he hath cured many mad men with it, which, when they laid by the stone, were as mad again as ever they were at first.* *Petrus Bayerus*, lib. 2. cap. 13, *veni mecum*, *Fran. Rueus*, cap. 19, *de gemmis*, say as much of the *Chrysolite*, ⁴ a friend of wisdom, an enemy to folly. *Pliny*, lib. 37, [5. 20.] *Solinus*, cap. 52, *Albertus*, *de lapid.*, *Cardan*, *Encelius*, lib. 3. cap. 66, highly magnifies the virtue of the *Beryl*, ⁵ *it much avails to a good understanding, represseth vain conceits, evil thoughts, causeth mirth, &c.* In the belly of a swallow there is a stone found called *Chelidonium*, ⁶ *which, if it be lapped in a fair cloth, and tied to the right arm, will cure lunaticks, mad men, make them amiable and merry.*

There is a kind of *Onyx*, called a *Chalcedony*, which hath the same qualities, ⁷ *avails much against phantastick illusions which proceed from melancholy*, preserves the vigour and good estate of the whole body.

The *Eban* stone, which Goldsmiths use to sleecken their gold with, borne about, or given to drink, ⁸ hath the same properties, or not much unlike.

Lævinus Lemnius, *Institut. ad vit.* cap. 58, amongst other Jewels makes mention of two more notable, *Carbuncle* and *Coral*, ⁹ *which drive away childish fears, Devils, overcome sorrow, and, hung about the neck, repress troublesome dreams*, which properties almost *Cardan*

¹ Encelius, l. 3. c. 4. *Suspensus vel exhibitus tristitiæ multum resistit, et cor recreat.* ² Idem, cap. 5. et cap. 6. de *Hyacintho* et *Topazio*. *Iram sedat, et animi tristitiam pellit.*

³ *Lapis hic gestatus aut exhibitus prudentiam auget, nocturnos timores pellit; insanos hac sanavi, et, quum lapidem abjecerint, erupit iterum stultitia.* ⁴ *Inducit sapientiam, fugat stultitiam.* Idem *Cardanus*, *lunaticos juvat.*

⁵ *Confert ad bonum intellectum, comprimit malas cogitationes, &c. Aiacres reddit.* ⁶ *Albertus*, *Encelius*, cap. 44. lib. 3. *Plin.* lib. 37. cap. 10. *Jacobus de Dondis*: *dextro brachio alligatus sanat lunaticos, insanos, facit amabiles, jucundos.* ⁷ *Valet contra phantasticas illusiones ex melancholia.* ⁸ *Amentes sanat, tristitiam pellit, iram, &c.* ⁹ *Valet ad fugandos timores et Dæmones, turbulenta somnia abigit, et nocturnos puerorum timores compescit.*

gives to that green coloured ¹ *Emmetris*, if it be carried about, or worn in a Ring; *Rucus* to the *Diamond*.

Nicholas Cabeus, a Jesuit of *Ferrara*, in the first book of his *Magnetical Philosophy*, cap. 3, speaking of the virtues of a load-stone, recites many several opinions; some say that, if it be taken in parcels inward, *si quis per frusta voret, juventutem restituet*, ² will, like viper's wine, restore one to his youth, and yet, if carried about them, others will have it to cause melancholy; let experience determine.

Mercurialis admires the *Emerald* for his virtues in pacifying all affections of the mind; others the *Sapphire*, which is the ³ *fairest of all precious stones, of sky-colour, and a great enemy to black choler, frees the mind, mends manners, &c.* *Jacobus de Dondis*, in his Catalogue of Simples, hath *Amber-Grease, os in corde cervi*, ⁴ the bone in a Stag's heart, a Momocerot's horn, *Bezoar's stone*, (⁵ of which elsewhere), it is found in the belly of a little beast in the East *Indies*, brought into *Europe* by *Hollanders* and our Countrymen Merchants. *Renodeus*, cap. 22. lib. 3. de ment. med. saith he saw two of these beasts alive in the Castle of the Lord of *Vitry* at *Coubert*.

Lapis Lazuli and *Armenus*, because they purge, shall be mentioned in their place.

Of the rest in brief thus much I will add out of *Cardan*, *Renodeus*, cap. 23. lib. 3, *Rondoletius*, lib. 1. de Testat. c. 15, &c. ⁶ *that almost all Jewels and precious stones have excellent virtues to pacify the affections of the mind, for which cause rich men so much covet to have them: and those smaller Unions which are found in shells amongst the Persians and Indians, by the consent of all writers, are very cordial, and most part avail to the exhilaration of the heart.*

Most men say as much of Gold, and some other Minerals, as these have done of precious stones. *Erastus* still maintains the opposite part. *Disput. in Paracelsum*, c. 4. fol. 196, he confesseth of Gold *that it makes the heart merry, but in no other sense but as*

¹ Somnia læta facit argenteo annulo gestatus. ² Atræ bilj adversatur, omnium gemmarum pulcherrima, cœli colorem refert, animum ab errore liberat, mores melius mutat. ³ Longis moribus feliciter medetur, deliquis, &c. ⁴ Sec. 5. Memb. 1. Subs. 5. ⁵ Gestamen lapidum et gemmarum maximum fert auxilium et juvamen; unde qui dites sunt gemmas secum ferre student. ⁶ Margaritæ et uniones, quæ à conchis et piscebus apud Persas et Indos, valde cordiales sunt, &c. [⁷ = pearls.] ⁸ Aurum lætitiâ generat, non in corde, sed in arcâ virorum.

it is in a miser's chest: at mihi plaudo simul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ, as he said in the Poet;¹ it so revives the spirits, and is an excellent receipt against Melancholy.

²*For gold in physic is a cordial,
Therefore he loved gold in special.*

*Aurum potabile*³ 'he discommends and inveighs against it, by reason of the corrosive waters which are used in it, which argument our Dr. *Guin* utteth against D. *Antonius*. ⁴*Erastus* concludes their Philosophical stones and potable gold, &c. *to be no better than poison*, a mere imposture, a *non ens*; digg'd out of that broody hill, belike, this goodly golden stone is, *ubi nascetur ridiculus mus*.⁵ *Paracelsus* and his Chemicalist followers, as so many *Promethei*, will fetch fire from Heaven, will cure all manner of diseases with Minerals, accounting them the only Physick on the other side. ⁶*Paracelsus* calls *Galen*, *Hippocrates*, and all their adherents, infants, idiots, Sophisters, &c. *Apaga sis istos qui Vulcanias istas Metamorphoses sugillant, inscitie soboles, supinae pertinacæ alumnos*, &c. not worthy the name of Physicians, for want of these remedies; and brags that by them he can make a man live 169 years, or to the world's end; with their ⁷*Alexipharmacums*, *Pagaceas*, *Mummias*, *Unguentum Armarium*, and such, *Magnetical cures*, *Lampas vite et mortis*, *Balneum Dianæ*, *Balsamum*, *Electrum Magico-physicum*, *Amuleta Martialia*, &c. What will not he and his followers effect? He brags moreover that he was *primus medicorum*,⁸ and did more famous cures than all the Physicians in *Europe* besides; ⁹*a drop of his preparations should go further than a dram or ounce of theirs*, those loathsome and fulsome filthy potions, heteroclitical pills, (so he calls them), horse medicines, *ad quorum aspectum Cyclops Polyphemus exhorresceret*.¹⁰ And, though some condemn their skill, and *Magnetical cures*, as tending to *Magical superstition*, *witchery*, *charms*, &c. yet they admire, stiffly vindicate nevertheless, and infinitely prefer them. But these are

[¹ Hor. Sat. i. r. 66, 67.] ² Chaucer. [Canterbury Tales. Prol. 445, 446.]
[³ Potable gold.] ⁴ *Aurum non aurum. Noxium ob aquas rodentes.* ⁵ Ep.
ad Monavium. *Metallica omnia in universum, quovismodo parata, nec tutò nec
commode intra corpus sumi.* [⁶ Hor. A. P. 139.] ⁷ In parag. *Stultissimus
pili occipitis mei plus scit quam omnes vestri doctores; et calceorum meorum,
annuli doctiores sunt quam vester Galenus et Avicenna; barba mea plus experta,
est quam vestrae omnes Academiae.* ⁸ Vide Ernestum Burgatium, edit. Fra-
naker. 8vo. 1611. Crolius and others. [⁹ The first of doctors.] ¹⁰ Plus
proficiet gutta mea quam tot eorum drachmæ et uncia. [¹¹ At the sight of
which the Cyclops Polyphemus would shudder.]

both in extremes, the middle sort approve of Minerals, though not in so high a degree. *Lemnius, lib. 3. cap. 6, de occult nat. mir.* commends Gold inwardly and outwardly used, as in Rings, excellent good in medicines, and such mixtures as are made for melancholy men, saith *Wecker, antid. spec. lib. 1,* to whom *Renodeus* subscribes, *lib. 2. cap. 2, Ficinus, lib. 2. cap. 19, Fernel. meth. med. lib. 5. c. 21. de Cardiacis, Daniel Sennertus, lib. 1. part 2. cap. 9, Audernacus, Libavius, Quercetanus, Oswaldus Crollius, Euonymus, Rubens, and Matthiolus,* in the fourth book of his Epistles, *Andreas a Blawen, Epist. ad Matthiolum,* as commended and formerly used by *Avicenna, Arnoldus,* and many others. *Matthiolus* in the same place approves of Potable Gold, Mercury, with many such Chemical Confections, and goes so far in approbation of them, that he holds ² *no man can be an excellent Physician that hath not some skill in Chemical Distillations, and that chronick diseases can hardly be cured without mineral medicines.* Look for Antimony among purgers.

SUBJECT 5.—*Compound Alteratives; censure of Compounds, and mixt Physick.*

Pliny, lib. 24. c. 1, bitterly taxeth all compound medicines. ³ *Men's knavery, imposture, and captious wits, have invented these shops, in which every man's life is set to sale: and by and by came in those compositions and inexplicable mixtures, far fetcht out of India and Arabia; a medicine for a botch must be had as far as the Red Sea, &c.* And 'tis not without cause which he saith, for out of question they are much to ⁴ blame in their compositions, whilst they make infinite variety of mixtures, as ⁵ *Fuchsius* notes. *They think they get themselves great credit, excel others, and to be more learned than the rest, because they make many variations; but he accounts them fools; and*

¹ Nonnulli huic supra modum indulgent, usum etsi non adeo magnum, non tamen abjiciendum censent. ² Ausim dicere neminem medicum excellentem qui non in hac distillatione chymica sit versatus. Morbi chronici devinci citra metallica vix possunt, aut ubi sanguis corrumpitur.

³ Fraudes hominum et ingeniorum capturae officinas invenire istas, in quibus sua cuique venalis promittitur vita; statim compositiones et mixturae inexplicabiles ex Arabia et India, uiceri parvo medicina à Rubro Mari importatur. ⁴ Arnoldus Aphor. 15. Pallax medicus qui potens nederi simplicibus, composita dolose aut frustra quaerit. ⁵ Lib. 1. sect. 1. cap. 8. Dum infinita medicamenta miscent, laudem sibi comparare student, et in hoc studio alter alterum superare conatur, dum quisque, quo plura miscuerit, eo se doctiorem putat; inde fit ut quam prodant inscitiam, dum ostentant peritiam, et se ridiculos exhibeant, &c.

whilst they brag of their skill, and think to get themselves a name, they become ridiculous, bewray their ignorance and error. A few simples, well prepared and understood, are better than such an heap of nonsense, confused compounds, which are in Apothecaries' shops ordinarily sold; in which many vain, superfluous, corrupt, exoete things out of date, are to be had (saith Cornarius) a company of barbarous names given to Syrops, Julips, an unnecessary company of mixt medicines; *Judis indigestaque moles.*¹ Many times (as Agrippa taxeth) there is by this means ² more danger from the medicine than from the disease, when they put together they know not what, or leave it to an illiterate Apothecary to be made, they cause death and horror for health. Those old Physicians had no such mixtures; a simple potion of *Hellebore* in *Hippocrates'* time was the ordinary purge; and at this day, saith ³ *Mat. Riccius*, in that flourishing Commonwealth of *Cleyna*, their Physicians give precepts quite opposite to ours, not unhappy in their Physick: they use altogether roots, herbs, and simples, in their medicines, and all their Physick in a manner is comprehended in an Herbal: no science, no school, no art, no degree; but, like a trade, every man in private is instructed of his Master. ⁴ *Cardan* cracks that he can cure all diseases with water alone, as *Hippocrates* of old did most infirmities with one medicine. Let the best of our rational Physicians demonstrate and give a sufficient reason for those intricate mixtures, why just so many simples in *Mithridate* or *Treacle*, why such and such quantity; may they not be reduced to half or a quarter? *Frustra fit per plura* (as the saying is) *quod fieri potest per pauciora*; ⁵ 300 simples in a Julip, Potion, or a little Pill, to what end or purpose? I know not what ⁶ *Alkindus*, *Capivaccius*, *Montagna*, and *Simon Eitover*, the best of them all and most rational have said in this kind; but neither he, they, nor any one of them, gives his reader, to my judgement, that satisfaction which he ought; why such, so many simples? *Rog. Bacon* hath taxed many errors in his tract *de graduationibus*, explained some things, but not cleared. *Mercurialis*, in his book *de composit. medicin.* gives instance in *Hamech*, and *Philonium Romanum*, which *Hamech*

[¹ Ovid, M. i. 7.] ² Multo plus periculi à medicamento quam à morbo, &c. ³ Expedit. in Sinas. lib. i. cap. 5. Præcepta medici dant nostris diversa, in medendo non infelices; pharmacis utuntur simplicibus, herbis, radicibus, &c. tota eorum medicina nostræ herbariæ præceptis continetur; nullus ludus hujus artis; quisque privatus à quolibet magistro eruditur. ⁴ Lib. de Aqua. ⁵ 'Tis vain to do in large quantities what can be done in small.] ⁶ Opusc. de Dos.

an *Arabian*, and *Philodnius*, a *Roman*,¹ long since composed, but *crasse*¹ as the rest. If they be so exact, as by him it seems they were, and those mixtures so perfect, why doth *Fernelius* alter the one, and why is the other obsolete? ² *Cardan* taxeth *Galen* for presuming out of his ambition to correct *Theriachum Andromachi*, and we as justly may carp at all the rest. *Galen's* medicines are now exploded and rejected; what *Nicholas Meripsa*, *Mesue*, *Celsus*, *Scribanius*, *Actuarius*, &c. writ of old, are most part condemned. *Mellichius*, *Cordus*, *Wecker*, *Quercetan*, *Renodeus*, the *Venetian*, *Florentine*, states have their several receipts, and magistrals:³ they of *Nuremberg* have theirs, and *Augustana Pharmacopœia* peculiar medicines to the meridian of the City: *London* hers, every City, Town, almost every private man, hath his own mixtures, compositions, receipts, magistrals, precepts, as if he scorned antiquity, and all others, in respect of himself. But each man must correct and alter, to shew his skill, every opinionable fellow must maintain his own paradox, be it what it will; *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*:⁴ they dote, and in the mean time the poor patients pay for their new experiments, the Commonalty rue it.

Thus others object, thus I may conceive out of the weakness of my apprehension; but, to say truth, there is no such fault, no such ambition, no novelty, or ostentation, as some suppose: but as ⁵ one answers, this of compound medicines is a most noble and profitable invention, found out, and brought into Physick with great judgement, wisdom, counsel, and discretion. Mixt diseases must have mixt remedies, and such simples are commonly mixt, as have reference to the part affected, some to qualify, the rest to comfort, some one part, some another. *Cardan* and *Brassavola* both hold that *nullum simplex medicamentum sine noxâ*, no simple medicine is without hurt or offence; and, although *Hippocrates*, *Erasistratus*, *Diocles*, of old, in the infancy of this Art, were content with ordinary simples, yet now, saith ⁶ *Aëtius*, necessity compelleth to seek for new remedies, and to make compounds of simples, as well to correct their harms if cold, dry, hot, thick, thin, insipid, noisome to smell, to make them savoury

[¹ Dully.] ² Subtil. cap. de scientiis. [³ Sovereign recipes.] [⁴ Hor. Epp. ii. 14.] ⁵ Quercetan. Pharmacop. restitut. cap. 2. Nobilissimum et utilissimum inventum summa cum necessitate adinventum et introductum. ⁶ Cap. 25. Tetrabib. 4. ser. 2. Necessitas nunc cogit aliquando noxia quærere remedia, et ex simplicibus compositas facere, tum ad sorem, odorem, palati gratiam, ad correctionem simplicium, cum ad futuros usus, conservationem, &c.

to the palate, pleasant to taste and take, and to preserve them for continuance by admixtion of sugar, honey, to make them last months and years for several uses. In such cases compound medicines may be approved, and *Arnoldus* in his 18th Aphorism doth allow of it. ¹ *If simples cannot, necessity compels us to use compounds*; so for receipts and magistrals, *dies diem docet*,² one day teacheth another, and they are as so many words or phrases; *Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus*,³ ebb and flow with the season, and, as wits vary, so they may be infinitely varied.

Quisque suum placitum, quo capiatur, habet :

every man as he likes; so many men, so many minds; ⁴ and yet all tending to good purpose, though not the same way. As arts and sciences, so Physick is still perfected amongst the rest. *Horæ Musarum nutrices*,⁵ and experience teacheth us every day ⁶ many things which our predecessors knew not of. Nature is not effete, as he saith, or so lavish, to bestow all her gifts upon an age, but hath reserved some for posterity, to shew her power, that she is still the same, and not old or consumed. Birds and beasts can cure themselves by nature, ⁷ *naturæ usu ea plerumque cognoscunt, quæ homines vix longo labore et doctrinâ assequuntur*, but men must use much labour and industry to find it out. But I digress.

Compound medicines are inwardly taken, or outwardly applied. Inwardly taken be either *liquid* or *solid*: liquid are *fluid* or *consisting*. Fluid, as Wines and Syrups. The wines ordinarily used to this disease are Wormwood-wine, Tamarisk, and *Byglossatum*, wine made of Borage and Bugloss; the composition of which is specified in *Arnoldus Villanovanus, lib. de vinis*, of Borage, Balm, Bugloss, Cinnamon, &c. and highly commended for its virtues. ⁸ *It drives away Leprosy, Scabs, clears the blood, recreates the spirits, exhilarates the mind, purgeth the brain of those anxious black melancholy fumes, and cleanseth the whole body of that black humour by urine. To which I add, saith Villanovanus, that it will bring*

¹ Cum simplicia non possunt, necessitas cogit ad composita. [² Cf. Publius Syrus, "Discipulus est prior, posterior dies."] [³ Hor. A. P. 71. Which come in and go out.] [⁴ Ter. Ph. ii. iv. 14.] [⁵ Time is necessary for knowledge.]

⁶ Lips: Epist. ⁷ Theod. Prodrum, Amor. lib. 9. ⁸ Sanguinem corruptum emaculat, scabiem abolet, lepram curat, spiritus recreat, et animum exhilarat. Melancholicos humores per urinam educit, et cerebrum à crassis, ærumnosis melancholice fumis purgat; quibus addo dementes et furiosos vinculis retinendos plurimum juvat, et ad rationis usum ducit. Testis est mihi conscientia, quod viderim matronam quamdam hinc liberatam, quæ frequentius ex iracundia demens, et impos animi dicenda tacenda loquebatur, adeo furens ut ligari cogeretur. Fuit ei præstantissimo remedio vini istius usus, indicatus à peregrino homine mendico. Alceosynam præ foribus dietæ matronæ implorante.

mad men, and such raging Bedlams as are tied in chains, to the use of their reason again. My conscience bears me witness, that I do not lie, I saw a grave matron helped by this means, she was so choleric, and so furious sometimes, that she was almost mad, and beside herself, she said and did she knew not what, scolded, beat her maids, and was now ready to be bound, till she drank of this Borage wine, and by this excellent remedy was cured, which a poor foreigner, a silly beggar, taught her by chance, that came to crave alms from door to door. The juice of Borage, if it be clarified, and drunk in wine, will do as much, the roots sliced and steeped, &c. saith *Ant. Mizaldus, art med.* who cites this story *verbatim* out of *Villanovanus*, and so doth *Magninus*, a Physician of Milan, in his regimen of health.* Such another excellent compound water I find in *Rubeus, de distil. sect. 3*, which he highly magnifies, out of *Savanarola*,¹ for such as are solitary, dull, heavy or sad without a cause, or be troubled with trembling of heart. Other excellent compound waters for melancholy he cites in the same place,² if their melancholy be not inflamed, or their temperature over hot. *Euonymus* hath a precious *Aquavita* to this purpose for such as are cold. But he and most commend *Aurum potabile*,³ and every writer prescribes clarified whey, with Borage, Bugloss, Endive, Succory, &c. of Goat's milk especially, some indefinitely at all times, some thirty days together in the Spring, every morning fasting, a good draught. Syrups are very good, and often used to digest this humour in the heart, spleen, liver, &c. as Syrup of Borage (there is a famous Syrup of Borage highly commended by *Laurentius* to this purpose in his Tract of Melancholy) *de pomis* of King Sabor now obsolete, of Thyme and Epithyme, Hops, Scolopendria, Fumitory, Maidenhair, Bizantine, &c. These are most used for preparatives to other Physick, mixt with distilled waters of like nature, or in Julips otherwise.

Consisting are conserves or confections; conserves of Borage, Bugloss, Balm, Fumitory, Succory, Maidenhair, Violets, Roses, Wormwood, &c. confections, Treacle, Mithridate, Eclegms, or Linctures, &c. Solid, as Aromatical confections; Hot, *Diambra*, *Diamargaritum calidum*, *Dianthus*, *Diamoschum dulce*, *Eledvarium de gemmis*, *latificans Galeni et Rhasis*, *Diagalinga*, *Diacimynum*, *Dianisum*, *Diatrion piperion*, *Diazinziber*, *Diacapers*, *Diacinna*.

¹ Iis qui tristantur sine causa, et vitant amicorum societatem, et tremunt corde.

² Modo non inflammetur melancholia, aut calidiore temperamento sint. [³ Potable gold.]

monum : cold, as *Diamargaritum frigidum*, *Diacorolli*, *Diarrhodon Abbatis*, *Diacodion*, &c. as every *Pharmacopœia* will shew you, with their tablets¹ or losings² that are made out of them ; with Condites, and the like.

Outwardly used as occasion serves, as Amulets, Oils hot and cold, as of Camomile, Stæchados, Violets, Roses, Almonds, Poppy, Nymphæa, Mandrake, &c. to be used after bathing, or to procure sleep.

Ointments composed of the said species, Oils and Wax, &c. as *Alabastritum Populeum*, some hot, some cold, to moisten, procure sleep, and correct other accidents.

Liniments are made of the same matter to the like purpose : emplasters of herbs, flowers, roots, &c. with oils and other liquors mixt and boiled together.

Cataplasms, salves, or poultices, made of green herbs, pounded, or sod in water till they be soft, which are applied to the Hypochondries, and other parts, when the body is empty.

Cerotes are applied to several parts, and Frontals, to take away pain, grief, heat, procure sleep. Fomentations or sponges, wet in some decoctions, &c. epithemata, or those moist medicines, laid on linen, to bathe and cool several parts misaffected.]

Sacculi, or little bags, of herbs, flowers, seeds, roots, and the like, applied to the head, heart, stomach, &c. odoraments, balls, perfumes, posies to smell to, all which have their several uses in melancholy, as shall be shewed, when I treat of the cure of the distinct species by themselves.

MEMB. II.

SUBSECT. I.—*Purging Simples upward.*

Melanagoga, or melancholy purging medicines, are either *Simple* or *Compound*, and that gently, or violently, purging *upwards* or *downwards*. These following purge upward. ³*Asarum*, or *Asarabacca*, which, as *Mesue* saith, is hot in the second degree, and dry in the third ; *it is commonly taken in wine, whey*, or, as with us, the juice of two or three leaves, or more sometimes, pounded in posset-drink, qualified with a little Liquorice, or Aniseed, to avoid the fulsomeness of the taste, or as *Diaserum Fernelii*. *Brassivola*, in *Cathart.* reckons it up amongst those simples that only

[¹ Tablets, cakes, (as cakes of soap).] [² = Lozenges.] [³ Heurnius. *Datur in sero lactis, aut vino.*]

purge melancholy, and *Ruellius* confirms as much out of his experience, that it purgeth¹ black choler, like *Hellebore* itself. *Galen*, lib. 6. *simplic.* and ²*Matthiolus* ascribe other virtues to it, and will have it purge other humours as well as this.

Laurel, by *Heurnius*, *Method. ad prax. lib. 2. cap. 24*, is put amongst the strong purgers of melancholy; it is hot and dry in the fourth degree. *Dioscorides*, lib. 11. *cap. 114*, adds other effects to it.³ *Pliny*⁴ sets down 15 berries in drink for a sufficient potion: it is commonly corrected with his opposites, cold and moist, as juice of Endive, Purslane, and is taken in a potion to seven grains and a half. But this, and *Asarabacca*, every Gentlewoman in the Country knows how to give, they are two common vomits.

Scilla, or Sea-Onion, is hot and dry in the third degree. *Brassivola*, in *Cathart.* out of *Mesue*, others, and his own experience, will have this simple to purge⁵ melancholy alone. It is an ordinary vomit, *vinum Scilliticum*, mixt with Ruber in a little white wine.

White Hellebore, which some call sneezing-powder, a strong purger upward, which many reject, as being too violent: *Mesue* and *Averroes* will not admit of it, ⁶by reason of danger of suffocation, ⁷great pain and trouble it puts the poor patient to, saith *Dodonæus*. Yet *Galen*, lib. 6. *simpl. med.* and *Dioscorides*, *cap. 145*, allow of it. It was indeed ⁸terrible in former times, as *Pliny* notes, but now familiar, insomuch that many took it in those days, ⁹that were students, to quicken their wits, which *Persius*, *Sat. 1. [50, 51.]* objects to *Accius* the Poet, *Ilias Acci ebria veratro*. ¹⁰It helps melancholy, the falling-sickness, madness, gout, &c. but not to be taken of old men, youths, such as are weaklings, nice, or effeminate, troubled with headache, high-coloured, or fear strangling, saith *Dioscorides*. ¹¹*Oribasius*, an old Physician, hath written very copiously, and approves of it, in such affections, which can otherwise hardly be cured. *Heurnius*, lib. 2. *prax. med. de vomitoriis*, will not have it used, ¹²but with great caution, by reason of its strength,

¹ Veratri modo expurgat cerebrum, roborat memoriam. *Fuchs.* ² Crassos et biliosos humores per vomitum educit. ³ Vomitus et menses ciet; valet ad hydrop. &c. [⁴ See N. H. xvii. 11.] ⁵ Materias atra educit. ⁶ Ab arte ideo rejiciendum, ob periculum suffocationis. ⁷ Cap. 16. Magna vi educit, et molestia cum summa. ⁸ Quondam terribile. [N. H. xxv. 31.] ⁹ Multi studiorum gratia ad providenda acris quæ commentabantur. [Ibidem.] ¹⁰ Modetur comitialibus, melancholicis, podagricis; vetatur senibus, pueris, mollibus, et effæminatis. ¹¹ Collect. lib. 8. cap. 3. in affectionibus iis quæ difficulter curantur, *Helleborum* damus. ¹² Non sine summa cautione hoc remedio utemur; est enim validissimum; et quum vires antimonii contemnit morbus, in auxilium evocatur, modo valide vires efflorescant.

and then when Antimony will do no good, which caused *Hermophilus* to compare it to a stout captain (as *Codronchus* observes, *cap. 7. comment. de Helleb.*) that will see all his soldiers go before him, and come *post principia*,¹ like the bragging soldier,² last himself. ³ When other helps fail in inveterate melancholy, in a desperate case, this vomit is to be taken. And yet for all this, if it be well prepared, it may be ⁴ securely given at first. ⁵ *Matthiolus* brags that he hath often, to the good of many, made use of it, and *Heurnius*, ⁶ that he hath happily used it, prepared after his own prescription, and with good success. *Christophorus à Vega*, *lib. 3. c. 41*, is of the same opinion, that it may be lawfully given; and our Country Gentlewomen find it by their common practice that there is no such great danger in it. Dr. *Turner*, speaking of this plant in his Herbal telleth us that in his time it was an ordinary receipt among good wives to give Hellebore in powder to it^d weight, and he is not much against it. But they do commonly exceed, for who so bold as blind *Bayard*?⁷ and prescribe it by pennyworths, and such irrational ways, as I have heard myself market folks ask for it in an Apothecary's shop: but with what success God knows; they smart often for their rash boldness, and folly, break a vein, make their eyes ready to start out of their heads, or kill themselves.⁸ So that the fault is not in the Physick, but in the rude and indiscreet handling of it. He that will know therefore when to use, how to prepare it aright, and in what dose, let him read *Heurnius*, *lib. 2. prax. med. Brassivola, de Cathart. Godefridus Stegius*, the Emperor *Rodolphus*' Physician, *cap. 16*, *Matthiolus in Dioscor.* and that excellent Commentary of *Baptista Codronchus*, which is *instar omnium*,⁹ *de Helleb. alb.* where he shall find great diversity of examples and receipts.

Antimony, or *Stibium*, which our Chemists so much magnify, is either taken in substance, or infusion, &c. and frequently prescribed in this disease. It helps all infirmities, saith ⁹ *Matthiolus*, which proceed from black cholera, falling-sickness, and hypochondriacal

[¹ Livy, ii. 65.] [² An allusion probably to Pyrgopolinices in the Miles Gloriosus of Plautus.] [³ Aëtius, tetrab. cap. 1. ser. 2. Iis solum dari vult helleborum album, quæ secus spem non habent, non iis qui syncopem timent, &c.] [⁴ Cum

salute multorum.] [⁵ Cap. 12. de morbis cap.] [⁶ Nos facillime utimur nostro præparato helleboro albo.] [⁷ A Proverb as old as Chaucer. See Nares' Glossary.] [⁸ Cic. Brut. 51. 191. Worth them all.] [⁹ In lib. 5. Dioscor. cap. 3. Omnibus opitulatur morbis, quos æra bilis excitavit, comitialibus, iisque præsertim qui hypochondriacas obtinent passiones.]

passions; and for further proof of his assertion he gives several instances of such as have been freed with it: 'one of *Andrew Gallus*, a Physician of *Trent*, that, after many other essays, imputes the recovery of his health, next after God, to this remedy alone; another of *George Handshius*, that, in like sort, when other medicines failed, 'was by this restored to his former health, and which, of his knowledge, others have likewise tried, and by the help of this admirable medicine been recovered; a third of a Parish Priest at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, 'that was so far gone with melancholy, that he doted, and spake he knew not what, but after he had taken 12 grains of *Stibium*, (as I myself saw, and can witness, for I was called to see this miraculous accident), he was purged of a deal of black choler, like little gobbets of flesh, and all his excrements were as black blood (a Medicine fitter for a Horse than a Man): yet it did him so much good, that the next day he was perfectly cured. This very story of the *Bohemian* Priest *Sceykinius* relates verbatim, *Exoter. experiment. ad Var. morb. cent. 6. observ. 6.* with great approbation of it. *Hercules de Saxoniâ* calls it a profitable medicine, if it be taken after meat to 6 or 8 grains, of such as are apt to vomit. *Rodericus à Fonseca*, the Spaniard, and late Professor of *Padua* in *Italy*, extols it to this disease, *Tom. 2. consul. 85*; so doth *Lod. Mercatus, de inter. morb. cur. lib. 1. cap. 17.* with many others. *Jacobus Gervinus*, a French Physician, on the other side, *lib. 2. de venenis confut.* explodes all this, and saith he took three grains only, upon *Matthiolus'* and some others' commendation, but it almost killed him; whereupon he concludes, 'antimony is rather poison than a medicine. *Th. Erastus* concurs with him in his opinion, and so doth *Ælian Montaltus, cap. 30. de melan.* But what do I talk? 'tis the subject of whole books, I might cite a century of Authors *pro* and *con*. I will conclude with 'Zuinger, antimony is like *Scanderbeg's* sword, which is either good or bad, strong or weak, as the party is that prescribes or useth it; a

¹ Andreas Gallus, Tridentinus Medicus, salutem huic medicamento post Deum delat.

² Integræ sanitati brevi restitutus; id quod aliis accidisse scio, qui hoc mirabili medicamento usi sunt.

³ Qui melancholicus factus planè desipiebat, multaque stultè loquebatur, huic exhibitum 12. gr. stibium, quod paulo post atram bilem ex alvo eduxit, (ut ego vidi, qui vocatus tanquam ad miraculum adfui testari possum), et ramenta tanquam carnis dissecta in partes: totum excrementum tanquam sanguinem nigerrimum representabat.

⁴ Antimonium venenum, non medicamentum. ⁵ Cratonis ep. sect. vel ad Monavium ep. In utramque partem dignissimum medicamentum, si recte utentur, secus venenum.

worthy medicine, if it be rightly applied to a strong man, otherwise poison. For the preparing¹ of it look in *Euonymi Thesaurus*, *Quercetan*, *Oswaldus Crollius*, *Basil. Chin. Basil. Valentius*, &c.

Tobacco, divine, rare, superexcellent *Tobacco*, which goes far beyond all their panaceas, potable gold, and philosopher's stones, a sovereign remedy to all diseases. A good vomit, I confess, a virtuous herb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used, but, as it is commonly abused² by most men, which take it as Tinkers do Ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health, hellish, devilish, and damned *Tobacco*, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul.

SUBJECT. 2.—*Simples Purging Melancholy downward.*

Polypody and *Epithyme* are, without all exceptions, gentle purgers of melancholy. *Dioscorides* will have them void flegm; but *Brassivola*, out of his experience, averreth that they purge this humour; they are used in decoction, infusion, &c. simple, mixt, &c.

Mirabolanes, all five kinds, are ¹happily prescribed against melancholy and quartan agues, *Brassivola* speaks out ²of a thousand experiences; he gave them in pills, decoction, &c. Look for peculiar receipts in him.

Stæchas, *Fumitory*, *Dodder*, herb *Mercury*, roots of *Capers*, *Genista* or broom, *Pennyroyal*, and half-boiled *Cabbage*, I find in this Catalogue of ³purgers of black choler, *Origan*, *Fetherfew*, *Ammoniack* ⁴Salt, *Salt-petre*. But these are very gentle, *Alypus*, *Dragon root*, *Centaury*, *Ditany*, *Colutea*, which *Fuchsius*, *cap.* 168, and others take for *Senna*, but most distinguish. *Senna* is in the middle of violent and gentle purgers downward, hot in the second degree, dry in the first. *Brassivola* calls it ⁵a wonderful herb against melancholy, it scours the blood, illightens the spirits, shakes off sorrow; a most profitable medicine, as ⁶*Dodonæus* terms it, invented by the *Arabians*, and not heard of before. It is taken divers ways, in powder, [in] infusion, but most commonly in the

¹ *Macrætes* fugant; utilissimè dantur melancholicis & quaternariis. ² Millies horum vires expertus sum.

³ *Sal nitrum*, *sal ammoniacum*, *dracontij radix*, *dictamnium*. [⁴ Greek *άλυπος*, or *άλυπον*.]

⁵ *Calet ordine secundo, siccata primo; adversus omnia vitia atræ bilis valet; sanguinem mundat, spiritus illustrat, mœrorem discutit herba mirifica.* ⁶ *Cap. 4. lib. 2.*

infusion, with Ginger, or some cordial flowers added to correct it. *Actuarius* commends it sod in broth, with an old Cock, or in whey, which is the common conveyer of all such things as purge black choler; or steeped in wine, which *Heurnius* accounts sufficient, without any further correction.

Aloes by most is said to purge choler, but *Aurelianus*, lib. 2. c. 6. de morb. chron. *Arculanus*, cap 6. in 9. *Rhasis*, *Julius Alexandrinus*, consil. 85, *Scoltz*. *Crato*, consil. 189. *Scoltz*. prescribe it to this disease, as good for the stomach, and to open the *Hæmrods*, out of *Mesue*, *Rhasis*, *Serapio*, *Avicenna*. *Menardus*, ep. lib. 1. epist. 1, opposeth it; *Aloes* doth not open the veins, or move the *Hæmrods*, which *Leonhartus Fuchsius*, paradox. lib. 1, likewise affirms; but *Brassivola* and *Dodonæus* defend *Mesue* out of their experience; let *Valesius* end the controversy.

Lapis Armenus and *Lazuli* are much magnified by *Alexander*,³ lib. 1. cap. 16, *Avicenna*, *Aëtius*, and *Actuarius*, if they be well washed, that the water be no more coloured, fifty times some say. ⁴ That good *Alexander* (saith *Guianerius*) puts such confidence in this one medicine, that he thought all melancholy passions might be cured by it; and I, for my part, have oftentimes happily used it, and was never deceived in the operation of it. The like may be said of *Lapis Lazuli*, though it be somewhat weaker than the other. *Garcias ab Horto*, hist. lib. 1. cap. 65, relates that the ⁵ Physicians of the *Moors* familiarly prescribe it to all melancholy passions, and *Matthiolus*, ep. lib. 3, ⁶brags of that happy success which he still had in the administration of it. *Nicholas Meripsa* puts it amongst the best remedies, sect. 1. cap. 12. in *Antidotis*; ⁷and if this will not serve (saith *Rhasis*) then there remains nothing but *Lapis Armenus*, and *Hellebore* itself. *Valescus* and *Jason Pratensis* much commend *Pulvis Hali*, which is made of it. *Jamès Damascen*. 2. cap. 12, *Hercules de Saxonâ*, &c. speak well of it. *Crato* will not approve this; it and both *Hellebores*, he saith, are no better than poison. *Victor Trincavellius*, lib. 2. cap. 14, found it,

¹ Recentiores negant ora venarum resecare. ² An aloë aperiat ora venarum, lib. 9. cont. 3. ³ Vapores abstergit à vitalibus partibus. ⁴ Tract. 15. c. 6. Bonus Alexander tantum lapide Armeno confidentiam habuit, ut omnes melancholicas passiones ab eo curari posse crederet; et ego inde sæpissime usus sum, et in ejus exhibitione nunquam fraudatus fui. ⁵ Maurorum medici hoc lapide plerumque purgant melancholiam, &c. ⁶ Quo ego sæpe feliciter usus sum, et magno cum auxilio. ⁷ Si non hoc, nihil restat nisi helleborus, et Lapis Armeus. Consil. 184. *Scoltz*.

in his experience, *'to be very noisome, to trouble the stomach, and hurt their bodies that take it overmuch.*'

Black *Hellebore*, that most renowned plant, and famous purger of melancholy, which all antiquity so much used and admired, was first found out by *Melampus*, a Shepherd, as *Pliny* records, *lib. 25. cap. 5,* ²who, seeing it to purge his Goats when they raved, practised it upon *Elige* and *Calene*, King *Prætus'* daughters, that ruled in *Arcadia*, near the fountain *Clitorius*, and restored them to their former health. In *Hippocrates'* time it was in only request, insomuch that he writ a book of it, a fragment off which remains yet. *Theophrastus,* ³*Galen*, *Pliny*, *Cælius Aurelianus*, as ancient as *Galen*, *lib. 1. cap. 6*, *Areteus*, *lib. 1. cap. 5*, *Oribasius*, (*lib. 7. collect.*) a famous *Greek*, *Aëtius*, *ser. 3. cap. 112*, et *113*, *P. Aegineta*, *Galen's Ape*, *lib. 7. c. 4*, *Actuarius*, *Trallianus*, *lib. 5. cap. 15*, *Cornelius Celsus* only remaining of the old Latins, *lib. 3. cap. 23*, extol and admire this excellent plant, and it was generally so much esteemed of the ancients for this disease amongst the rest, that they sent all such as were crazed, or that doted, to the *Anticyræ*, or to *Phocis* in *Achaia*, to be purged, where this plant was in abundance to be had. In *Strabo's* time it was an ordinary voyage; *Naviget Anticyram*; ⁴a common proverb among the *Greeks* and *Latins* to bid a dizzard or a mad man go take *Hellebore*; as in *Lucian*, ⁵*Menippus* to *Tantalus*, *Tantale, desipis, helleboro epoto tibi opus est, eoque sane meraco*; thou art out of thy little wit, *O Tantalus*, and must needs drink *Hellebore*, and that without mixture; *Aristophanes in Vespis*, ⁶“Drink *Hellebore*,” &c. and *Harpax*, in the ⁷Comedian, told *Simo* and *Ballio*, two doting fellows, that they had need to be purged with this plant. When that proud *Menecrates* *ὁ Ζεὺς*, ⁸had writ an arrogant letter to *Philipp* of *Macedon*, he sent back no other answer but this, *Consulo tibi ut ad Anticyram te conferas*, ⁹noting thereby that he was crazed, *atque helleboro indigere*, [and] had much need of a good purge. ¹⁰¹¹*Lilius Geraldus* saith that *Hercules*, after all his mad pranks upon his wife and children, was perfectly cured by a purge of *Hellebore*, which an *Anticyrian* administered unto him. ¹²They

¹ Multa corpora vidi gravissimè hinc agitata, et stomacho multum obfuisse.
² Cum vidisset ab eo curari capras furentes, &c. ³ Lib. 6. simpl. med. ⁴ Hor. Sat. ii. iii. 166. ⁵ Dial. Mort. xvii. § 2. ⁶ 1. 489. ⁷ Pseudolo. Act. 4. [sc. 7. 89.] *Helleboro* hisce hominibus opus est. ⁸ Plautus. ⁹ See Athenæus, vii. p. 289. ¹⁰ I advise you to go to Anticyra. ¹¹ Of hellebore. ¹² Aelian, Var. Hist. xii. 51.]

that were sound commonly took it to quicken their wits (as *Ennius* of old, ¹ *Qui non nisi polus ad arma—prosiluit dicenda*, and as our Poets drink Sack to improve their inventions). I find it so registered by *A. Gellius*, lib. 17. cap. 15. *Carneades*, the *Academick*, when he was to write against *Zeno* the *Stoick*, purged himself with *Hellebore* first, which ² *Petronius* puts upon *Chrysippus*. In such esteem it continued for many ages, till at length *Mesue* and some other *Arabians* began to reject and reprehend it, upon whose authority for many following lustres it was much debased and quite out of request, held to be poison, and no medicine; and is still oppugned to this day by ³ *Crato* and some *Junior Physicians*. Their reasons are because *Aristotle*, l. 1. de plant. c. 3, said *Hellebore* and *Hellebore* were poison; and *Alexander Aphrodisiaus*, in the Preface of his Problems, gave out that (speaking of *Hellebore*) ⁴ *quails fed on that which was poison to men*. *Galen*. l. 6, *Epid. com.* 5, *Text.* 35, confirms as much. ⁵ *Constantine* the Emperor, in his *Geoponicks*, attributes no other virtue to it than to kill mice and rats, flies and mouldwarps, and so *Mizaldus*. *Nicander* of old, *Gerwinus*, *Schenkius*, and some other *Neotericks* that have written of poisons, speak of *Hellebore* in a chief place. ⁶ *Nicholas Leonicus* hath a story of *Solon*, that, besieging I know not what City, steeped *Hellebore* in a spring of water, which by pipes was conveyed into the middle of the Town, and so either poisoned, or else made them so feeble and weak by purging, that they were not able to bear arms. Notwithstanding all these cavils and objections most of our late writers do much approve of it. ⁷ *Gariopontus*, lib. 1. cap. 13, *Codronchus*, com. de helleb. *Fallopious*, lib. de med. purg. simpl. cap. 69. et consil. 15, *Trincavellius*, *Montanus*, 239, *Frisemelica*, consil. 14, *Hercules de Saxoniâ*, so that it be opportunely given. *Jacobus de Dondis*, *Agg. Amatus*, *Lusit. cent.* 66, *Godef. Stegius*, cap. 13, *Hollerius*, and all our *Herbalists* subscribe. *Fernelius*, meth. med. lib. 5. cap. 16, confesseth it to be a "terrible purge, and hard to take, yet well given to strong men, and such as have able bodies." *P. Forestus* and *Capivaccius* forbid it to be taken in substance, but allow it in decoction.

¹ Hor. [Epp. i. 19. 7, 8. Who never wrote his Poems but when well whited.]

² In Satyr. [cap. 88.]

³ Crato, consil. 16. l. 2. Etsi multi magni viri probent, in bonam partem accipiant medici, non probent. ⁴ Vescuntur veratro coturnices quod hominibus toxicum est. ⁵ Lib. 23. c. 7. 12. 14. ⁶ De var. hist.

⁷ Corpus inculume reddit, et juvenile efficit.

⁸ Veteres non sine causa usi sunt. Difficilis ex helleboro purgatio, et terroris plena, sed robustis datur tamen, &c.

tion or infusion, both which ways *P. Monavius* approves above all others, *Epist.* 231. *Scotzii*; *Jacchinus*, in 9 *Rhasis*, commends a receipt of his own preparing; *Penottus* another of his chemically prepared, *Euonymus* another. *Hildesheim*, *spicil.* 2. *de mel.* hath many examples how it should be used, with diversity of receipts. *Heurnius*, *lib.* 7. *prax. med. cap.* 14, calls it an ¹innocent medicine howsoever, if it be well prepared. The root of it is only in use, which may be kept many years, and by some given in substance, as by *Falopius* and *Brassivola* amongst the rest, who ²brags that he was the first that restored it again to his use, and tells a story how he cured one *Melastasta* a mad man, that was thought to be possessed, in the Duke of *Ferrara's* Court with one purge of black Hellebore in substance: the receipt is there to be seen; his excrements were like ink, ³he perfectly healed at once; *Vidus Vidius*, a Dutch Physician, will not admit of it in substance, to whom most subscribe, but, as before in the decoction, infusion, or which is all in all, in the extract, which he prefers before the rest, and calls *suave medicamentum*, a sweet medicine, an easy, that may be securely given to women, children, and weaklings. *Baracellus*, *Horto Geniali*, terms it *maximæ præstantiæ medicamentum*, a medicine of great worth and note. *Quercetan*, in his *Spagir. Phar.* and many others, tells wonders of the extract. *Paracelsus* above all the rest is the greatest admirer of this plant, and especially the extract; he calls it *Theriacum, terrestre Balsamum*, another Treacle, a terrestrial Balm, *instar omnium*, ⁴all in all, the ⁵sole and last refuge to cure this malady, the Gout, Epilepsy, Leprosy, &c. If this will not help, no Physick in the world can but mineral, it is the upshot of all. *Matthiolus* laughs at those that except against it, and though some abhor it out of the authority of *Mesue*, and dare not adventure to prescribe it, ⁶yet I (saith he) have happily used it six hundred times without offence, and communicated it to divers worthy Physicians, who have given me great thanks for it. Look for receipts, dose, preparation, and other

¹ Innocens medicamentum, modo rite paretur. ² Absit jactantia, ego primus præbere cœpi, &c. ³ In Cathart. Ex una sola evacuatione furor cessavit, et quietus inde vixit. Tale exemplum apud Skenkium et apud Scoltium, ep. 231. *P. Monavius* se stolidum curasse jactat hoc epoto tribus aut quatuor vicibus.

[⁴ Cic. Brut. 51. 191. Worth them all.] ⁵ Ultimum refugium, extremum medicamentum, quod cætera omnia claudit; quæcunque cæteris laxativis pelli non possunt ad hunc pertinent; & non huic, nulli cedunt. ⁶ Testari possum me sexcentis hominibus Helleborum nigrum exhibuisse, nullo prorsus incommodo, &c.

cautions concerning this simple in him, *Brassivola*, *Baracellus*, *Condronchus*, and the rest.

SUBSECT. 3.—Compound Purgers.

Compound medicines which purge melancholy are either taken in the *superior* or *inferior* parts: *superior* at *mouth* or *nostrils*. At the mouth *swallowed* or not *swallowed*: if *swallowed*, *liquid* or *solid*: *liquid*, as compound wine of Hellebore, Scilla, or Sea-*Onion*, *Senna*, *Vinum Scilliticum*, *Helleboratum*, which ¹*Quercetan* so much applauds for *melancholy* and *madness*, either *inwardly taken*, or *outwardly applied to the head*, with *little pieces of linen dipped warm in it*. *Oxymel Scilliticum*, *Syrupus Helleboratus major* and *minor* in *Quercetan*, and *Syrupus Genistæ* for *Hypochondriacal Melancholy* in the same Author, compound Syrup of *Succory*, of *Fumitory*, *Polypody*, &c. *Heurnius* his purging Cock-broth. Some except against these Syrups, as appears by ²*Udalrinus Leonorus* his Epistle to *Matthiolus*, as most pernicious, and that out of *Hippocrates*, *cocta movere, et medicari, non cruda*, no raw things to be used in Physick; but this in the following Epistle is exploded, and soundly confuted by *Matthiolus*; many juleps, potions, receipts, are composed of these, as you shall find in *Hildesheim*, *spicil.* 2, *Heurnius*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 14, *George Skenkius*, *Ital. med. prax.* &c.

Solid purgers are confections, electuaries, pills by themselves, or compound with others, as *de Lapide Lazulo*, *Armeno*, *Pil. Indæ*, of *Fumitory*, &c. *confection of Hamech*, which though most approve, *Solenander*, *sec.* 5. *consil.* 22, bitterly inveighs against, so doth *Rondoletius*, *Pharmacop. officina*, *Fernelius*, and others; *Diasena*, *Diapolypodium*, *Diacassia*, *Diacatholicon*, *Wecker's Electuary de Epithymo*, *Ptolemy's Hierologadium*, of which divers receipts are daily made.

Aëtius, 22. 33. commends *Hieram Ruffi*. *Trincavellius*, *consil.* 12. *lib.* 1, approves of *Hiera*; non, inquit, invenio melius medicamentum, I find no better medicine, he saith. *Heurnius* adds *pil. aggregat.* pills *de Epithymo*, *pil. Ind.* *Mesue* describes in the

¹ *Pharmacop.* Optimum est ad maniam et omnes melancholicos affectus, tum intra assumptum, tum extra, secus capiti cum lintolis in eo madefactis tepide admotum. ² *Epist. Math.* *lib.* 3. Tales syrups nocentissimi, et omnibus modis extirpandi.

Florentine Antidotary, Pilulæ sine quibus esse nolo, Pillulæ Cochiae cum Helleboro, Pil. Arabicæ, Fœtida, de quinque generibus mirabalanorum, &c. More proper to melancholy, not excluding, in the mean time, Turbith, Manna, Rhubarb, Agarick, Elescophe, &c. which are not so proper to this humour. For, as *Montaltus* holds, *cap. 30.* and *Montanus, cholera etiam purganda, quod atra sit pabulum*, choler is to be purged, because it feeds the other: and some are of an opinion, as *Erasistratus* and *Asclepiades* maintained of old, against whom *Galen* disputes, ¹*that no Physick doth purge one humour alone, but all alike, or what is next.* Most therefore in their receipts and magistral² which are coined here, make a mixture of several simples and compounds to purge all humours in general as well as this. Some rather use potions than pills to purge this humour because that, as *Heurnius* and *Crato* observe, *hic succus à sicco remedio ægrè trahitur*, this juice is not so easily drawn by dry remedies; and, as *Montanus* adviseth *25. cons. all³ drying medicines are to be repelled*, as *Aloe, Hiera*, and all pills whatsoever, because the disease is dry of itself.

I might here insert many receipts of prescribed potions, boles, &c. the doses of these, but that they are common in every good Physician, and that I am loth to incur the censure of *Forestus, lib. 3. cap. 6. de urinis*, ⁴*against those that divulge and publish medicines in their mother tongue*, and lest I should give occasion thereby to some ignorant Reader to practise on himself, without the consent of a good Physician.

Such as are not swallowed, but only kept in the mouth, are Gargarisms,⁵ used commonly after a purge, when the body is soluble and loose. Or Apophlegmatisms, Masticatories, to be held and chewed in the mouth, which are gentle, as Hyssop, Origan, Pennyroyal, Thyme, Mustard; strong, as Pellitory, Pepper, Ginger, &c.

Such as are taken into the nostrils, *Errhina*, are liquid, or dry, juice of Pimpernel, Opions, &c. Castor, Pepper, white Hellebore, &c. To these you may add odoraments, perfumes, and suffumigations, &c.

¹ Purgantia censebant medicamenta non unum humorem attrahere, sed quemcunque attigerint, in suam naturam convertere. [² Sovereign recipes.] ³ Religantur omnes exsiccantes medicinae, ut Aloe, Hiera, pilulæ, quæcunque. ⁴ Contra eos qui lingua vulgari et vernacula remedia et medicamenta præscribunt, et quibusvis communia faciunt. . [⁵ = Gargles.]

Taken into the inferior parts are Clysters strong or weak, Suppositories of Castilian soap, honey boiled to a consistence; or stronger of Scammony, Hellebore, &c.

These are all used, and prescribed to this malady upon several occasions, as shall be shewed in his place.

MEMB. III.

Chirurgical Remedies.

IN letting of blood, three main circumstances are to be considered, *'who, how much, when?'* That is, that it be done to such a one as may endure it, or to whom it may belong, that he be of a competent age, not too young, nor too old, overweak, fat, or lean, sore laboured, but to such as have need, and are full of bad blood, noxious humours, and may be eased by it.

The quantity depends upon the party's habit of body, as he is strong or weak, full or empty, may spare more or less.

In the morning is the fittest time: some doubt whether it be best fasting, or full, whether the Moon's motion or aspect of Planets be to be observed, some affirm, some deny, some grant in acute, but not in chronick diseases, whether before or after Physick. 'Tis *Heurnius'* Aphorism, *à Phlebotomia auspicandam esse curationem, non a pharmacia*, you must begin with blood-letting and not Physick; some except this peculiar malady. But what do I? *Horatius Augenius*, a Physician of *Padua*, hath lately writ 17 books of this subject, *Jobertus*, &c.

Particular kinds of blood-letting in use² are three, first is that opening a Vein in the arm with a sharp knife, or in the head, knees, or any other part, as shall be thought fit.

Sucking-glasses, with or without scarification, *ocissimè compescunt*, saith *Fernelius*, they work presently, and are applied to several parts, to divert humours, aches, wind, &c.

Horse-leeches are much used in melancholy, applied especially to the Hæmrods. *Horatius Augenius*, lib. 10. cap. 10, *Platerus de mentis alienat.* cap. 3, *Altomarus*, *Piso*, and many others, prefer them before any evacuations in this kind.

¹ Quis, quantum, quando.

² Fernelius, lib. 2. cap. 19.

¹ *Cauteries* or searing with hot irons, combustions, borings, lancements, which, because they are terrible, *Droptæx* and *Sinapismus* are invented, by plasters to raise blisters, and eating medicines of pitch, mustard-seed, and the like.

Issues still to be kept open, made as the former, and applied in (and to several parts, have their use here on divers occasions, as shall be shewed.

SECT. V.—MEMB. I.

SUBJECT. I.—*Particular Cure of the three several kinds of Head-Melancholy.*

THE general cures thus briefly examined and discussed, it remains now to apply these medicines to the three particular species or kinds, that, according to the several parts affected, each man may tell in some sort how to help or ease himself. I will treat of head-melancholy first, in which, as in all other good cures, we must begin with Diet, as a matter of most moment, able oftentimes of itself to work this effect, I have read, saith *Laurentius*, *cap. 8. de Melanch.* that in old diseases which have gotten the upper hand or an habit, the manner of living is to more purpose than whatsoever can be drawn out of the most precious boxes of the Apothecaries. This diet, as I have said, is not only in choice of meat and drink, but of all those other non-natural things. Let air be clear and moist most part: diet moistening, of good juice, easy of digestion, and not windy: drink clear, and well brewed, not too strong nor too small. *Make a melancholy man fat*, as ² *Rhæsius* saith, *and thou hast finished the cure.* Exercise not too remiss, nor too violent. Sleep a little more than ordinary. ³ Excrements daily to be voided by art or nature; and, which *Fernelius* enjoins his Patient, *consil. 44.* above the rest, to avoid all passions and perturbations of the mind. Let him not be alone or idle (in any kind of melancholy); but still accompanied with such friends and familiars he most affects, neatly dressed, washed and combed, according to his ability at least, in clean sweet linen, spruce,

¹ Renodeus, lib. 5. cap. 21. de his Mercurialis lib. 3. de composit. med. cap. 24. Heurnius, lib. 1. prax. med. Wecker, &c. ² Coni. lib. 1. c. 9. Festines ad impinguationem, et cum impinguantur, removetur malum. ³ Beneficium ventris.

handsome, decent, and good apparel; for nothing sooner dejects a man than want, squalor, and nastiness, foul or old cloaths out of fashion. Concerning the medicinal part, he that will satisfy himself at large (in this precedent of diet) and see all at once the whole cure and manner of it in every distinct species, let him consult with *Gordonius*, *Valescus*, with *Prosper Calenus*, lib. de *atriabile ad Card. Cesium*, *Laurentius*, cap. 8, et 9, de *mela*. *Ælian Montaltus*, de *mel.* cap. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, *Donat. ab Altomari*, cap. 7. *artis med.* *Hercules de Saxoniâ*, in *Panth.* cap. 7. et *Tract. ejus peculiar.* de *melan.* per *Bolzeta* edit. *Venetis* 1620, cap. 17, 18, 19, *Savonarola*, *Lib.* 82. *Tract.* 8. cap. 1, *Skenkius in prax. curat. Ital. med.* *Heurnius*, cap. 12. de *morb.* *Victorius Faventinus*, *pract. Magn. et Empir.* *Hildesheim*, *Spicil.* 2. de *man. et mel.* *Fel. Plater*, *Storckerus*, *Brue*, *P. Bayerus*, *Forestus*, *Fuchsius*, *Capivaccius*, *Rondoletius*, *Jason Pratensis*, *Sallust. Salvian.* de *re med.* lib. 2. cap. 1, *Jacchinus*, in 9. *Rhasis*, *Lod. Mercatus*, de *inter. morb. cur. lib.* 1. cap. 17, *Alexan. Messaria*, *pract. med. lib.* 1. cap. 21. de *mel.* *Piso*, *Hollerius*, &c. that have culled out of those old *Greeks*, *Arabians*, and *Latins*, whatsoever is observeable or fit to be used. Or let him read those counsels and consultations of *Hugo Senensis*, *consil.* 13, et 14, *Rennerus Solinander*, *cons.* 6. *Sec.* 1. et *consil.* 3. *sec.* 3, *Crato*, *consil.* 16. lib. 1, *Montanus*, 20, 22, 229, and his following counsels, *Lælius à Fonte Eugubinus*, *consult.* 44, 69, 77, 125, 129, 142, *Fernelius*, *consil.* 44, 45, 46, *Jul. Cæsar Claudinus*, *Mercurialis*, *Frambesarius*, *Sennertus*, &c. wherein he shall find particular receipts, the whole method, preparatives, purgers, correctors, averters, cordials, in great variety and abundance: out of which, because every man cannot attend to read or peruse them, I will collect, for the benefit of the Reader, some few more notable medicines.

SUBJECT. 2.—Blood-letting.

Phlebotomy is promiscuously used before and after Physick, commonly before, and upon occasion is often reiterated, if there be any need at least of it. For *Galen*, and many others, make a doubt of bleeding at all in this kind of head-melancholy. If the malady, saith *Piso*, cap. 23, et *Altomarus*, cap. 7, *Fuchsius*, cap. 33,

¹ shall proceed primarily from the misaffected brain, the Patient in such case shall not need at all to bleed, except the blood otherwise abound, the veins be full, inflamed blood, and the party ready to run mad. In immaterial melancholy, which especially comes from a cold distemperature of spirits, *Hercules de Saxoniâ*, cap. 17, will not admit of Phlebotomy; *Laurentius*, cap. 9. approves it out of the authority of the *Arabians*; but as *Mesue*, *Rhasis*, *Alexander* appoint, ² especially in the head, to open the veins of the fore-head, nose, and ears, is good. They commonly set cupping-glasses on the party's shoulders, having first scarified the place; they apply horse-leeches on the head, and in all melancholy diseases, whether essential or accidental, they cause the Hæmorrhoids to be opened, having the eleventh Aphorism of the 6th book of *Hippocrates* for their ground and warrant, which saith that in melancholy and mad men the varicous tumour or hæmorrhoides appearing doth heal the same. *Valescus* prescribes blood-letting in all three kinds, whom *Sallust. Salviân* follows. ³ If the blood abound, which is discerned by the fulness of the veins, his precedent diet, the party's laughter, age, &c. begin with the median or middle vein of the arm: if the blood be ruddy and clear, stop it; but if black in the spring time, or a good season, or thick, let it run, according to the party's strength: and some eight or twelve days after, open the head vein, and the veins in the forehead, or provoke it out of the nostrils, or cupping-glasses, &c. *Trallianus* allows of this, ⁴ if there have been any suppression or stopping of blood at nose, or hæmorrhoids, or women's months, then to open a vein in the head or about the ankles. Yet he doth hardly approve of this course, if melancholy be sited in the head alone, or in any other dotage, ⁵ except it primarily proceed from blood, or that the malady be increased by it; for blood-letting refrigerates and dries up, except the body be very full of blood, and a kind of ruddiness in the face. Therefore I conclude with *Aretæus*,

¹ Si ex primario cerebri affectu melancholici evaserint, sanguinis detractio non indigent, nisi ob alias causas sanguis mittatur, si multus in vasis, &c. ² Si sanguis abundet, quod scitur ex venarum repletionem, victus ratione præcedente, risu ægri, ætate, et aliis, tundatur mediana; et si sanguis apparet clarus et ruber, suppressatur; aut si verè, si niger aut crassus, permittatur fluere pro viribus ægri, dein post 8 vel 12 diem aperiatur cephalica partis magis affectæ, et vena frontis, aut sanguis provocetur setis per nares, &c. ³ Si quibus consuetæ suæ suppressæ sunt menses, &c. talo secare oportet, aut vena frontis, si sanguis peccet cerebro.

⁴ Nisi ortum ducat à sanguine, ne morbus inde augeatur: phlebotomia refrigerat et exsiccet, nisi corpus sit valde sanguineum, rubicundum.

¹ *before you let blood, deliberate of it,* and well consider all circumstances belonging to it.²

SUBJECT. 3.—*Preparatives and Purgers.*

AFTER blood-letting we must proceed to other medicines; first prepare, and then purge, *Augæ stabulum purgare*,² make the body clean, before we hope to do any good. *Qualter Bruel* would have a practitioner begin first with a clyster of his, which he prescribes before blood-letting: the common sort, as *Mercurialis*, *Montaltus*, cap. 30, &c. proceed from lenitives to preparatives, and so to purgers. Lenitives are well known, *Electuarium lenitivum*, *Dia-phenicum*, *Diacatholicon*, &c. Preparatives are usually Syrups of Borage, Bugloss, Apples, Fumitory, Thyme and Epithyme, with double as much of the same decoction or distilled water, or of the waters of Bugloss, Balm, Hops, Endive, Scolopendry, Fumitory, &c. or these sod in whey, which must be reiterated and used for many days together. Purges come last, *which must not be used at all, if the malady may be otherwise helped*, because they weaken nature, and dry so much; and in giving of them *we must begin with the gentlest first*. Some forbid all hot medicines, as *Alexander*, and *Salvianus*, &c. *ne insaniore inde fiant*; hot medicines increase the disease *by drying too much*. Purge downward rather than upward, use potions rather than pills, and, when you begin Physick, persevere and continue in a course; for, as one observes, *“movere et non educere in omnibus malum est*; to stir up the humour (as one purge commonly doth) and not to prosecute, doth more harm than good. They must continue in a course of Physick, yet not so that they tire and oppress nature, *danda quies naturæ*, they must now and then remit, and let nature have some rest. The most gentle purges to begin with, are *“Senna, Cassia, Epithyme, Myrabolanes, Catholicon*: if these prevail not, we may proceed to stronger, as the confection of *Hamech, Pil. Indæ, Fumitoria, de Assæmet*, of *Lapis Armenus* and *Lazuli, Diasena*. Or, if pills be too dry, ³ some prescribe both *Hellebores* in the last place, amongst

¹ Cum sanguinem detrahare oportet, deliberatione indiget. Aretæus, lib. 7. c. 5. [2 Sen. Apocol. 7. 5.] ² A lenioribus auspicandum. (Valescus, Piso, Bruel) rariusque medicamentis purgantibus utendum, ni sit opus. ³ Quia corpus exsiccat, morbum augent. ⁴ Guianerius, Tract. 15. c. 6. ⁵ Piso. ⁶ Rhasis, sæpe valent ex Helleboro.

the rest *Aretæus*, ¹ *because this disease will resist a gentle medicine.* *Laurentius* and *Hercules de Saxoniâ* would have *Antimony* tried last, if the ² party be strong, and it warily given! ³ *Trincavellius* prefers *Hierologodium*, to whom *Francis Alexander* in his *Apol. rad.* 5. subscribes, a very good medicine they account it. But *Cato*, in a counsel of his for the Duke of *Bavaria's* Chancellor, wholly rejects it.

I find a vast *Chaos*, of medicines, a confusion of receipts and magistrals,⁴ amongst writers, appropriated to this disease; some of the chiefest I will rehearse. ⁵ To be sea-sick, first, is very good at seasonable times. *Helleborismus Matthioli*, with which he vaunts and boasts he did so many several cures ⁶ *I never gave it* (saith he) *but, after once or twice, by the help of God they were happily cured.* The manner of making it he sets down at large in his third book of *Epist. to George Hankshius*, a Physician. *Gualter Bruel* and *Heurnius* make mention of it with great approbation; so doth *Skenckius* in his memorable cures, and experimental medicines, *cen.* 6. *observ.* 37. That famous *Helleborism* of *Montanus* which he so often repeats in his consultations and counsels, as 28, *pro melan. sacerdotæ, et consil.* 148, *pro Hypochondriaco, and cracks* ⁷ *to be a most sovereign remedy for all melancholy persons, which he hath often given without offence, and found by long experience and observation to be such.*

Quercetan prefers a Syrup of Hellebore in his *Spagirica Pharmac.* and Hellebore's Extract, *cap.* 5, of his invention likewise (*a most safe medicine, and not unfit to be given children*) before all remedies whatsoever.

Paracelsus, in his book of black Hellebore, admits this medicine, but as it is prepared by him. ⁹ *It is most certain* (saith he) *that the virtue of this herb is great, and admirable in effect, and little differing from Balm itself, and he that knows well how to make use*

¹ Lib. 7. Exiguus medicamentis morbus non obsequitur. ² Modo caute detur, et robustis. ³ Consil. 10. l. 1. . [⁴ Sovereign recipes.] ⁵ Plin. l. 21. c. 6. Navigaciones ob vomitionem prosunt plurimis morbis capitis, et omnibus ob quos Helleborum bibitur. Idem Dioscorides, lib. 5. cap. 13. Avicenna tertiam rimis. ⁶ Nunquam dedimus, quin ex una aut altera assumptione, Deo juvante, fuerint ad salutem restituti. ⁷ Lib. 2. Inter composita purgantia melancholiam. ⁸ Longo experimento a se observatum esse, melancholicos sine offensa egregie curandos valere. Idem, responsione ad Aubertum, veratrum nigrum, alias timidum et periculosum, vini spiritu etiam et oleo commodum sic usui redditur, ut etiam pueris tuto administrari possit. ⁹ Certum est hujus herbe virtutem maximam et mirabilem esse, parumque distare à balsamo. Et qui nescit eo recte uti plus habet artis quam tota scribentium cohors, aut omnes doctores in Germania.

of it hath more heart than all their books contain, or all the Doctors in Germany can shew.

Ælianus Montaltus, in his exquisite work *de morb. capitis*, cap.

31. *de mel.* sets a special receipt of Hellebore of his own, which in his practice ¹ he fortunately used; because it is but short, I will set it down.

℞ Syrupi de pomis ℥ij, aquæ borag. ℥iiij.
 Ellebori nigri per noctem infusi in ligatura
 6 vel 8 gr. manè facta cola turâ exhibe.

Other receipts of the same to this purpose you shall find in him. *Valescus* admires *Pulvis Hali*, and *Jason Pratensis* after him: the confection of which our new *London Pharmacopœia* hath lately revived. ² Put case (saith he) all other medicines fail, by the help of God this alone shall do it; and 'tis a crowned medicine which must be kept in secret.

℞. Epithymi semunc., Lapidis Lazuli, agarici ana ℥ij.
 Scammonii, ℥j, Chariophyllorum numero 20: pulverisentur
 Omnia, et ipsius pulveris scrup. 4. singulis septimanis assumat.

To these I may add *Arnoldi vinum buglossatum*, or Borage wine before mentioned, which ³ *Mizaldus* calls *vinum mirabile*, a wonderful wine, and *Stockerus* vouchsafes to repeat *verbatim* amongst other receipts: *Rubeus* his ⁴ compound water out of *Savanarola*: *Pinetus* his balm; *Cardan's Pulvis Hyacinthi*, with which, in his book *de curis admirandis*,⁵ he boasts that he had cured many melancholy persons in eight days, which ⁶ *Skenkius* puts amongst his observable medicines: *Altomarus* his Syrup, with which, ⁷ he calls God so solemnly to witness, he hath in his kind done many excellent cures, and which *Skenkius*, *cent. 7. observ. 80.* mentioneth, *Daniel Sennertus*, *lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 12.* so much commends; *Rulandus'* admirable water for melancholy, which, *cent. 2. cap. 96.* he names, *spiritum vitæ aureum*, *Panaceam*, what not? and his absolute medicine of 50 Eggs, *curat. Empir. cen. 1. cur. 5.* to be taken three in a morning, with a powder of his. ⁸ *Farentinus*,

¹ Quo feliciter usus sum.

² Hoc posito quod aliæ medicinæ non valeant, ista tunc Dei misericordiâ valebit, et est medicina coronata quæ secretissimè teneatur.

³ Lib. de artif. med. ⁴ Sect. 3. Optimum remedium aqua composita Savanarolæ. [⁵ On wonderful cures.] ⁶ Skenkius, observ. 31. ⁷ Donatus ab Altomari, cap. 7. Testor Deum, me multos melancholicos hujus solius syrupi usu curasse, facta prius purgatione. ⁸ Centum ova et unum, quolibet mane sumant ova sorbilia, cum sequentè pulvere supra ovum aspersa, et contineant quousque assumpserint centum et unum, maniacis et melancholicis utilissimum remedium.

prac. Emper. doubles this number of Eggs and will have a hundred and one to be taken by three and thre in like sort, which *Sallust Salvian* approves, *de re med. lib. 2. c. 1.*, with some of the same powder, till all be spent, a most excellent remedy for all melancholy and madmen.

℞. Epithymi, thymi, ana, drachmas duas, sacchari albi unciam unam, croci grana, tria, cinnamoni drachmam unam; misce, fiat pulvis. 2.

All these yet are nothing to those ¹Chemical preparatives of *Aqua Chelidonia*, quintessence of Hellebore, salts, extracts, distillations, oils, *Aurum potabile*,² &c. Dr. *Anthony*, in his book *de auro potab.*, edit. 1600, is all in all for it. ³*And though all the Schools of Galenists, with a wicked and unthankful pride and scorn, detest it in their practice, yet in more grievous diseases, when their vegetals will do no good, they are compelled to seek the help of minerals, though they use them rashly, unprofitably, slackly, and to no purpose.* *Rhenanus*, a Dutch Chemist, in his book *de Sale & puteo emergente*, takes upon him to apologize for *Anthony*, and sets light by all that speak against him. But what do I meddle with this great Controversy, which is the subject of many volumes? Let *Paracelsus*, *Quercetan*, *Crollius*, and the brethren of the *Rösy Cross* defend themselves as they may. *Crato*, *Erastus*, and the *Galenists* oppugn *Paracelsus*. He brags on the other side he did more famous cures by this means than all the *Galenists* in *Europe*, and calls himself a Monarch, *Galen*, *Hippocrates*, infants, illiterate, &c. As *Thessalus* of old railed against those ancient *Asclepiadean* writers, ⁴*he condemns others, insults, triumphs, overcomes all antiquity (saith Galen, as if he spake to him) declares himself a conqueror, and crowns his own doings.* ⁵*One drop of their Chemical preparatives shall do more good than all their fulsome potions.* *Erastus* and the rest of the *Galenists* vilify them, on the other side, as Hereticks in Physick; ⁶*Paracelsus did that in Physick which Luther in Divinity.* ⁷*A drunken rogue he was, a base fellow,*

¹ Quercetan. cap. 4. Phar. Osvaldus Crollius. [² Potable gold.] ³ Cap.

1. Licet tota Galenistarum schola mineralia non sine impio et ingrato fastu à sua practica detestentur; tamen in gravioribus morbis, omni vegetabilium derelicto subsidio, ad mineralia confugiunt, licet ea temere, ignaviter, et inutiliter usurpent. Ad finem libri. ⁴ Veteres maledictis incedit, vincit, et contra omnem antiquitatem coronatur, ipseque à se victor declaratur. Gal. lib. 1. meth. c. 2. ⁵ Codronchus, de sale absinthii.

⁶ Idem Paracelsus in medicina quod Lutherus in theologia. ⁷ Disput. in eundem, parte 1. Magus ebrius, illiteratus, dæmonem præceptorem habuit, dæmones familiares, &c.

a Magician, he had the Devil for his master, Devils his familiar companions, and what he did was done by the help of the Devil. Thus they contend and rail, and every Mart write books *pro* and *con*, *et adhuc sub iudice lis est*;¹ let them agree as they will, I proceed.

SUBSECT. 4.—*Averters.*

AVERTERS and Purgers must go together, as tending all to the same purpose, to divert this rebellious humour, and turn it another way. In this range Clysters and Suppositories challenge a chief place, to draw this humour from the brain and heart to the more ignoble parts. Some would have them still used a few days between, and those to be made with the boiled seeds of Anise, Fennel, and bastard Saffron, Hops, Thyme, Epithyme, Mallows, Fumitory, Bugloss, Polypody, Senna, Diasene, Hamech, Cassia, Diacatholicon, Hierologiodum, Oil of Violets, sweet Almonds, &c. For without question a Clyster, opportunely used, cannot choose in this, as most other maladies, but to do very much good; *clysteres nutritant*, sometimes Clysters nourish, as they may be prepared, as I was informed not long since by a learned Lecture of our Natural Philosophy² Reader, which he handled by way of discourse, out of some other noted Physicians. Such things as provoke urine most commend, but not sweat. *Trincavellius, consil.* 16. *cap.* 1, in head melancholy forbids it. *P. Bayerus* and others approve frictions of the outward parts, and to bathe them with warm water. Instead of ordinary frictions, *Cardan* prescribes rubbing with Nettles till they blister the skin, which likewise *Basardus Visontinus* so much magnifies.

Sneezing, masticatories, and nasals, are generally received. *Montaltus, c.* 34, *Hildesheim, spicil.* 2. *fol.* 136 and 138, give several receipts of all three. *Hercules de Saxoniâ* relates of an Empirick in *Vertice*, *that he had a strong water to purge by the mouth and nostrils, which he still used in head-melancholy, and would sell for no gold.*

To open months and Hemroids is very good Physick,³ if they

[¹ Hor. A. P. 78. and the matter is yet unsettled.]

² Master D. Lapworth.

³ Ant. Philos. cap. de melan. Frictio vertice, &c.

⁴ Aqua fortissima purgans os, nares, quam non vult auro vendere. ⁵ Mercurialis, consil. 6. et 30. Haemorrhoidum et mensium provocatio juvat, modo ex eorum suppressione ortum habuerit.

have been formerly stopped. *Faventinus* would have them opened with horse-leeches, so would *Hercul. de Sax.* *Julijus Alexandrinus* (*consil.* 185, *Scoltzii*) thinks Aloes fitter: 'most approve horse-leeches in this case, to be applied to the fore-head, ²nostrils, and other places.

³*Montaltus*, *cap.* 29, out of *Alexander* and others, prescribes ⁴*cupping-glasses, and issues in the left thigh.* *Aræteus*, *lib.* 7. *cap.* 5, ⁵*Paulus Regolinus, Sylvijus*, will have them without scarification, applied to the shoulders and back, thighs and feet. ⁶*Montaltus*, *cap.* 34, bids open an issue in the arms, or hinder part of the head. ⁷*Piso* enjoins ligatures, frictions, suppositories, and cupping-glasses, still without scarification, and the rest.

Cauteries and hot irons are to be used ⁸*in the suture of the crown, and the seared or ulcerated place suffered to run a good while.* 'Tis not amiss to bore the skull with an instrument, to let out the fuliginous vapours. *Gullust. Salvianus, de re medic. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1, ⁹*because this humour hardly yields to other Physick, would have the leg cauterized, or the left leg below the knee, and the head bored in two or three places,* for that it much avails to the exhalation of the vapours. ¹⁰*I saw (saith he) a melancholy man at Rome, that by no remedies could be healed, but when by chance he was wounded in the head, and the skull broken, he was excellently cured.* Another, to the admiration of the beholders, ¹¹*breaking his head with a fall from on high, was instantly recovered of his dotage.* *Gordonius*, *cap.* 13. *part.* 2, would have these cauteries tried last, when no other Physick will serve. ¹²*The head to be shaved and boxed to let out fumes, which without doubt will do much good.* *I saw a melancholy man wounded in the head with a sword, his brain-pan broken; so*

¹ *Laurentius, Brucl, &c.* ² *P. Bayerus, l. 2. cap. 13. naribus, &c.* ³ *Cucurbitulæ sicce, et fontanellæ crure sinistro.* ⁴ *Hildesheim, spicel. 2. Vapores à*

cerebro trahendi sunt frictionibus universi, cucurbitulis siccis, humeris ac dorso affixis, circa pedes et crura. ⁵ *Fontanellam aperi juxta occipitium, aut brachium.*

⁶ *Balani, ligaturæ, friciones, &c.* ⁷ *Cauterium fiat sutura coronali; diu fluere permittantur loca ulcerosa. Trepano etiam cranij densitas immitti potest, ut vaporibus fuliginosis exitus pateat.* ⁸ *Quoniam difficulter cedit aliis medicamentis, ideo fiat in vertice cauterium, aut crure sinistro infra genu.* ⁹ *Fiant duo aut tria cauteria, cum ossis perforatione.* ¹⁰ *Vidi Romæ melancholicum qui, adhibitis multis remediis, sanari non poterat, sed cum cranium gladio fractum esset, optime sanatus est.* ¹¹ *Et aliū vidi melancholicum qui, ex alto cadens, non sine tantum admiratione liberatus est.* ¹² *Radatur caput et fiat cauterium in capite; procul dubio ista faciunt ad fumorum exhalationem; vidi melancholicum à fortuna gladio vulneratum, et cranium fractum; quamdū vulnus apertum, curatus optime; at, cum vulnus sanatum, reversa est mania.*

long as the wound was open, he was well, but when his wound was healed, his dotage returned again. But Alexander Messaria, a Professor in Padua, lib. 1. pract. med. cap. 21, de Melanchol. will allow no cauteries at all; 'tis too stiff an humour, and too thick, as he holds, to be so evaporated.

Guianerius, c. 8. Tract. 15, cured a Nobleman in Savoy, by boring alone, 'leaving the hole open a month together, by means of which, after two years' melancholy and madness, he was delivered. All approve of this remedy in the suture of the Crown; but Arculanus would have the cautery to be made with gold. In many other parts these cauteries are prescribed for melancholy men, as in the thighs, (*Mercurialis, consil.* 86,) arms, legs. *Idem. consil.* 6, et 19, et 25, Montanus, 86, Rodericus à Fonseca, Tom. 2. consult. 84. pro hypochond. coxâ dextrâ, &c. but most in the head, if other Physick will do no good.

SUBJECT. 5.—*Alteratives and Cordials, corroborating, resolving the Reliques, and mending the Temperament.*

BECAUSE this Humour is so malign of itself, and so hard to be removed, the reliques are to be cleansed by Alteratives, Cordials, and such means; the temper is to be altered and amended, with such things as fortify and strengthen the heart and brain, ²which are commonly both affected in this malady, and do mutually misaffect one another: which are still to be given every other day, or some few days inserted after a purge or like Physick, as occasion serves, and are of such force that many times they help alone, and as ³Arnoldus holds in his Aphorisms, are to be preferred before all other medicines, in what kind soever.

Amongst this number of Cordials and Alteratives I do not find a more present remedy than a cup of wine or strong drink, if it be soberly and opportunely used. It makes a man bold, hardy, courageous, whetteth the wit, if moderately taken, (and, as ⁵Plutarch saith, *Symp.* 7. quest. 12.) it makes those, which are otherwise dull, to exhale and evaporate like frankincense, or quicken (*Xenophon* adds)

¹ Usque ad duram matrem trepanari feci, et per mensem aperta stetit. ² Cordis ratio semper habenda, quod cerebro compatitur, et sese invicem officunt. ³ Aphor. 38. Medicina theriacalis præ cæteris eligenda. ⁴ Galen. de temp. lib. 3. c. 3. Moderate vinum sumptum acuit ingenium. ⁵ Tardos aliter et tristes thuris in modum exhalare facit.

¹as oil doth fire. ²*A famous cordial* Matthiæolus in Dioscoridem calls it, an excellent nutriment to refresh the body, it makes a good colour, a flourishing age, helps concoction, fortifies the stomach, takes away obstructions, provokes urine, drives out excrements, procures sleep, clears the blood, expels wind and cold poisons, attenuates, conducts, dissipates, all thick vapours, and fuliginous humours. And that which is all in all to my purpose, it takes away fear and sorrow.

³Curas edaces dissipat Euius

It glads the heart of man, *Psa.* 104. 15, *hilaritatis dulce seminarium.*⁴ *Helen's bowl*, the sole Nectar of the Gods, or that true *Nepenthes* in ⁵*Homer*, which puts away care and grief, as *Orebasius*, 5. *Collect. cap.* 7, and some others will, was naught else but a cup of good wine. *It makes the mind of the King and of the fatherless both one, of the bond and free-man, poor and rich; it turneth all his thoughts to joy and mirth, makes him remember no sorrow or debt, but enricheth his heart, and makes him speak by talents*, *Esdras*, 3. 19, 20, 21. It gives life itself, spirits, wit, &c. For which cause the Antients called *Bacchus*, *Liber pater à liberando*, and ⁶sacrificed to *Bacchus* and *Pallas* still upon an Altar. ⁷*Wine measurably drunk, and in time, brings gladness and cheerfulness of mind, it cheereth God and men*, *Judges*, 9. 13: *letitiæ Bacchus dator*,⁸ it makes an old wife dance, and such as are in misery to forget evil, and be⁹ merry.

Bacchus et afflictis requiem mortalibus affert,

Cæcra licet duro compede pulsa sonent.¹⁰

Wine makes a troubled soul to rest,

Though feet with fetters be opprest.

Demetrius in Plutarch, when he fell into *Seleucus'* hands, and was prisoner in *Syria*,¹¹ *spent his time with dice, and drink that he might so ease his discontented mind, and avoid those continual cogitations of his*

¹ Hilaritatem, ut oleum flammam, exolat. [Sympos. cap. viii] ² Viribus retinendis cardiacum eximium, nutriendo corpori alimentum optimum, ætatem floridam facit, calorem innatum fovet, concoctionem juvat, stomachum roborat, excrementis viam parat, urinam movet, somnum conciliat; venena, frigidos flatus dissipat; crassos humores attenuat, coquit, discutit, &c. ³ Hor. Lib. 2. Od. 11. [17, 18. Bacchus dissipates corroding cares.] ⁴ Varr. ap. Non. 28, 22.]

⁵ Odyss. [iv. 221-226.] ⁶ Pausanias. ⁷ Siracides, xxxi. 28. ⁸ Virg. Æn. i. 734.] ⁹ Narratur et prisci Catonis Sæpe mero caluisse virtus. [Hor. Odes. iii. 21. 11, 12.] ¹⁰ Tibullus, i. 7441, 42.] ¹¹ In pocula et aleam se præcipitavit, et iis fere tempus traduxit, ut ægram crapula mentem levaret, et conditionis præsentis cogitationes quibus agitabatur sobrius vitaret. [Plut. Vit. Demetrii, § 52.]

present condition where¹with he was tormented. Therefore Solomon, Prov. 31. 6, [7,] bids wine be given to him that is ready to ¹perish, and to him that hath grief of heart; let him drink that he forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more. *Sollicitis animis onus eximit*,² it easeth a burdened soul, nothing speedier, nothing better: which the Prophet Zachary perceived, when he said, that in the time of Messias they of Ephraim should be glad, and their heart should rejoice as through wine.³ All which makes me very well approve of that pretty description of a feast in *Bartholomæus Anglicus*, when grace was said, their hands washed, and the Guests sufficiently exhilarated, with good discourse, sweet musick, dainty fare, *exhilarationis gratia, pocula iterum atque iterum offeruntur*; as a Corollary to conclude the feast, and continue their mirth, a grace cup came in to cheer their hearts, and they drank healths to one another again and again. Which (as *J. Fredericus Matenesius, Crit. Christ. lib. 2. cap. 5, 6, et 7*), was an old custom in all ages in every Common-wealth, so as they be not enforced *bibere per violentiam*, but as in that Royal Feast of *Assuerus* which lasted 180 days, without compulsion they drank by order in golden vessels, when and what they would themselves. This of drink is a most easy and parable remedy, a common, a cheap, still ready against fear, sorrow, and such troublesome thoughts, that molest the mind; as Brimstone with fire, the spirits on a sudden are enlightened by it. No better Physick (saith *Rhasis*) for a melancholy man: and he that can keep company, and carouse, needs no other medicines, 'tis enough. His Country-man *Avicenna*, 31. *Doct. 2. c. 8*, proceeds further yet, and will have him that is troubled in mind, or melancholy, not to drink only, but now and then to be drunk: excellent good Physick it is for this and many other diseases. *Magninus, Reg. san. p. 3. c. 31*, will have them to be so once a month at least,⁷ and gives his reasons for it, "because it scours the body by vomit, urine, sweat, of all manner of superfluities, and keeps it clean. Of the same mind is *Seneda* the Philosopher in his book *de tranquill. lib. 1. c. 15*, non-

¹ So did the Athenians of old, as *Suidas* relates, and so do the Germans at this day. [² *Hor. Epp. i. 5. 18.*] [³ *Zachariah, x. 7.*] [⁴ *Lib. 6. cap. 23. et 24. de rerum proprietat.*] [⁵ *Esther, i. 8.*] [⁶ *Tract. 1. cont. l. 1. Non est res laudabilior eo, vel cura melior; qui melancholicus utatur societate hominum et biberia; et qui potest sustinere usum vini non indiget alia medicina, quod eo sunt omnia ad usum necessaria hujus passionis.*] [⁷ *Gf. Silvius, Montaigne's Essays, Book ii. ch. 2.*] . . . Tum quod sequatur inde sudor, vomitus, urina, à quibus superfluitates à corpore remouentur et remanet corpus mundum.

nunquam, ut in aliis morbis, ad ebrietatem usque veniendum; curas deprimit, tristitiæ medetur, it is good sometimes to be drunk, it helps sorrow, depresseth cares, and so concludes his Tract with a cup of wine: *habes, Serene carissime, quæ ad tranquillitatem animæ pertinent*. But these are Epicureal tenents, tending to looseness of life, Luxury and Atheism, maintained alone by some Heathens, dissolute Arabians, profane Christians, and are exploded by *Rabbi Moses, Tract. 4. Guïel. Placentius, lib. 1. cap. 8, Valescus de Taranta*, and most accurately ventilated by *Jo. Sylvaticus*, a late writer and Physician of *Milan, med. cont. cap. 14*, where you shall find this tenent copiously confuted.

Howsoever you say, if this be true that wine and strong drink have such virtue to expel fear and sorrow, and to exhilarate the mind, ever hereafter let's drink and be merry.

¹ *Prone reconditum, Lyde, strenua, Cæcubum,
Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos,
Et Chia vina aut Lesbia.*

Come, lusty Lyda, fill's a cup of sack,
And, sirrah drawer, bigger pots we lack,
And Scio wines that have so good a smack.

I say with him in ²*A. Gellius, let us maintain the vigour of our souls with a moderate cup of wine*, ³*Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis, and drink to refresh our mind; if there be any cold sorrow in it, or to expel bashfulness, let's wash it all away.*—*Nunc vino pellite curas*: so saith ⁴*Horace*, so saith *Anacreon*,⁵

Μεθύντα γὰρ με κεῖσθαι
Πολὺ κρείσσον ἢ θινύντα.⁶

Let's drive down care with a cup of wine: and so say I too, (though I drink none myself) for all this may be done, so that it be modestly, soberly, opportunely used: so that *they be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess*, which our ⁷Apostle forewarns; for, as *Chrysostom* well comments on that place, *ad letitiam datum est vinum, non ad ebrietatem*, 'tis for mirth wine, but not for madness: and will you know where, when, and how, that is to be understood? *Vis discere ubi bonum sit vinum? Audi quid dicat Scrip-*

¹ Hor. [Odes, iii. 28. 2, 3.] ² Lib. 15. 2. noct. Att. Vigorem animi moderato vini usu tuamur, et calefacto simul refotoque animo, si quid in eo vel frigida tristitiæ, vel torpentis verecundiæ fuerit, diluamus. ³ Hor. l. 1. Od. 27. 1. ⁴ Od. 7. lib. 1. 31. ⁵ Ode 48. 9, 10.] ⁶ Nam præstat ebrium me quam mortuum jacere. ⁷ Ephes. v. 18. ser. 19. in cap. 5.

tura, hear the Scriptures, *Give Wine to them that are in sorrow*,¹ or, as *Paul* bid *Timothy* drink wine for his stomach's sake,² for concoction, health, or, some such honest occasion. Otherwise, as ³ *Pliny* telleth us, if singular moderation be not had, *nothing so pernicious, 'tis mere Vinegar, blandus demon, poison itself*. But hear a more fearful doom, *Habac.* 2. 15, and 16. *Woe be to him that makes his neighbour drunk, shameful spewing shall be upon his glory*. Let not good fellows triumph therefore, (saith *Matthiolus*), that I have so much commended wine; if it be immoderately taken, *instead of making glad, it confounds both body and soul, it makes a giddy head, a sorrowful heart*. And 'twas well said of the Poet of old, *Wine causeth mirth and grief*,⁴ nothing so good for some, so bad for others, especially as ⁵ one observes, *qui a causa calida male habent*, that are hot or inflamed. And so of spices, they alone, as I have shewed, cause head-melancholy themselves, they must not use wine as an ⁷ ordinary drink, or in their diet. But to determine with *Laurentius*, c. 8. *de melan.* wine is bad for mad men, and such as are troubled with heat in their inner parts or brains; but to melancholy, which is cold (as most is), Wine soberly used may be very good.

I may say the same of the decoction of *China* roots, *Sassafras*, *Sarsaparilla*, *Guaiacum*. *China*, saith *Monardus*, makes a good colour in the face, takes away melancholy, and all infirmities proceeding from cold; even so *Sarsaparilla* provokes sweat mightily, *Guaiacum* dries, *Claudinus* consult. 89, et 46. *Montanus*, *Cappivaccius*, consult. 188, *Scoltzii*, make frequent and good use of *Guaiacum*, and *China*,⁸ so that the liver be not incensed, good for such as are cold, as most melancholy men are, but by no means to be mentioned in hot.

The Turks have a drink called *Coffee* (for they use no wine) so named of a berry as black as soot, and as bitter (like that black drink which was in use amongst the *Lacedæmonians*, and perhaps the same), which they sip still off, and sup as warm as they can suffer; they spend much time in those *Coffee-houses*, which are somewhat like our Ale-houses or Taverns, and there they sit chat-

[¹ Prov. 31. 6.] [² 1 Tim. v. 23.] [³ Lib. 14. 5. Nil perniciosius viribus, si modus absit; venenum.] [⁴ Theocritus, Idyl. 13. Vino dari lætitiā et dolorem.] [⁵ Renodeus.] [⁶ Mercurialis, consil. 25. Vinum frigidis optimum, et pessimum ferina melancholia.] [⁷ Pernelius, consil. 44 et 45, vinum prohibet assiduū, et aromata.] [⁸ Modo jecur non incendatur.]

ting and drinking to drive away the time, and to be merry together, because they find by experience that kind of drink so used helpeth digestion, and procureth alacrity. Some of them take *Opium* to this purpose.

Borage, Balm, Saffron, Gold, I have spoken of; *Montaltus*, c. 23, commends *Scorzonera* roots condite. *Garcias ab Horto*, *plant. hist. lib. 2. cap. 25*, makes mention of an herb called *Datura*, *which, if it be eaten, for 24 hours following takes away all sense of grief, makes them incline to laughter and mirth*: and another called *bang*, like in effect to *Opium*, *which puts them for a time into a kind of Extasis*, and makes them gently to laugh. One of the Roman Emperors had a seed, which he did ordinarily eat to exhilarate himself. ² *Christophorus Ayrrerus* prefers *Bezoar's* stone, and the confection of *Alkermes*, before other cordials, and *Amber* in some cases. ³ *Alkermes* comforts the inner parts; and *Bezoar* stone hath an especial virtue against all melancholy affections, *it refresheth the heart, and corroborates the whole body*. ⁴ *Amber* provokes urine, helps the body, breaks wind, &c. After a purge, three or four grains of *Bezoar* stone, and three grains of *Amber-Grease* drunk, or taken in Borage, or Bugloss water, in which gold hot hath been quenched, will do much good, and the purge shall diminish less (the heart so refreshed) of the strength and substance of the body.

R. confect. Alkermes ʒi lap. Bezoar. ʒj.
Succini albi subtiliss. pulverisat. ʒjij. cum
Syrup. de cort. citri; fiat electuarium.

To *Bezoar's* stone most subscribe, *Manardus*, and ⁵ many others, *it takes away sadness, and makes him merry that useth it; I have seen some that have been much diseased with faintness, swooning, and melancholy, that, taking the weight of three grains of this stone in the water of Oxtongue, have been cured*. *Garcias ab Horto* brags how many desperate cures he hath done upon melancholy men by this alone, when all Physicians had forsaken them. But *Alchermes* many except against; in some cases it may help, if it be good and

¹ Per 24 horas sensum doloris omnem tollit, et ridere facit. ² Hildesheim, spicil. 2. ³ Alkermes omnia vitalia viscera mire confortat. ⁴ Contra omnes melancholicos affectus confert, ac certum est ipsius usu omnes cordis et corporis vires mirum in modum effici. ⁵ Succinum vero albißimum confortat ventriculum, flatum discutit, urinam movet, &c. ⁶ *Garcias ab Horto*, *aromatum lib. 1. cap. 15*. Adversus omnes morbos melancholicos conducit, et venenum. Ego (inquit) utor in morbis melancholicis, &c., et deploratos hujus usu ad pristinam sanitatem restitui. See more in *Bauhinus* book de lap. Bezoar c. 45.

of the best, such as that of *Montpelier in France*, which ¹*Jodocus Sincerus, Itinerario Gallie*, so much magnifies, and would have no traveller omit to see it made. But it is not so general a medicine as the other. *Fernelius, consil.* 49, suspects *Alchermes*, by reason of its heat: ²*nothing* (saith he) *sooner exasperates this disease than the use of hot working meats and medicines, and would have them for that cause warily taken.* I conclude therefore of this and all other medicines, as *Thucydides* of the plague at *Athens*; no remedy could be prescribed for it, *nam quod uni profuit hoc aliis erat exitio*.³ there is no Catholick medicine to be had: that which helps one is pernicious to another.

Diamargaritum frigidum, Diambra, Diaboraginaturn, Electuarium letificans Galeni & Rhasis, de Gemmis, Dianthos, Diamoschum dulce & amarum, Electuarium Conciliatoris, syrup. Cydoniorum de pomis, conserves of *Roses, Violets, Fumitory, Enula campana, Satyrion, Lemons, Orange-pills condite*, &c. have their good use.

⁴℞. Diamoschi dulcis et amari, ana ʒij.
Diabuglossati, Diaboraginati, sacchari violacei,
ana ʒj. misce cum syrupo de pomis.

Every Physician is full of such receipts; one only I will add for the rareness of it, which I find recorded by many learned Authors, as an approved medicine against dotage, head-melancholy, and such diseases of the brain. Take a ⁵Ram's head that never meddled with an Ewe, cut off at a blow, and, the horns only taken away, boil it well skin and wool together, after it is well sod, take out the brains, and put these spices to it, *Cinnamon, Ginger, Nutmeg, Mace, Cloves*, ana ʒ ss, mingle the powder of these spices with it, and heat them in a platter upon a chafing-dish of coals together, stirring them well, that they do not burn; take heed it be not overmuch dried, or dryer than a Calves brains ready to be eaten. Keep it so prepared, and for three days give it the patient fasting, so that he fast two hours after it. It may be eaten with bread in

¹ Edit. 1617. Monspelii electuarium fit pretiosissimum Alcherm. &c. ² Nihil morbum hunc æque exasperat ac alimentorum vel calidiorum usus. Alchermes ideo suspectus, et quod semel moneam, caute adhibenda calida medicamenta. [³ Thuc. ii. 51.] ⁴ Skenesius, l. i. Observat. de Mania, ad mentis alienationem, et desipientiam vitio cerebri obortam, in manuscripto codice Germanico, tale medicamentum reperi. ⁵ Caput arietis nondum experti venerem, uno ictu amputatum, cornibus tantum demotis, integrum cum lana et pelle bene elixabis; tum aperto aggrèbrum eximes, et addens aromata, &c.

an egg, or broth, or any way, so it be taken. For fourteen days let him use this diet, drink no wine, &c. *Gestner, hist. animal. lib. 1. pag. 917, Caricterius, pract. cap. 13. in Nich. de metri. p. 129. Iatro: Wittenberg. edit. Tubing. pag. 62*, mention this medicine, though with some variation; he that list may try it,¹ and many such.

Odoraments to smell to, of Rose-water, Violet flowers, Balm, Rose-cakes, Vinegar, &c. do much recreate the brains and spirits, according to *Solomon, Prov. 27. 9, they rejoice the heart*, and, as some say, nourish: 'tis a question commonly controverted in our schools, *an odores nutrant*;² let *Ficinus, lib. 2. cap. 18*, decide it,³ many arguments he brings to prove it: as of *Democritus*, that lived by the smell of bread alone, applied to his nostrils, for some few days, when for old age he could eat no meat. *Ferrerijs, lib. 2. meth.* speaks of an excellent confection of his making, of wine, saffron, &c. which he prescribed to dull, weak, feeble, and dying men, to smell to, and by it to have done very much good, *æquè ferè profuisse olfactu et potu*, as if he had given them drink. Our noble and learned Lord⁴ *Verulam*, in his book *de vitâ et morte*, commends therefore all such cold smells as any way serve to refrigerate the spirits. *Montanus, consil. 31*, prescribes a form which he would have his melancholy Patient never to have out of his hands. If you will have them spagirically⁵ prepared, look in *Oswaldus, Crollius, basil. Chymica*.

Irrigations of the head shaven, *of the flowers of water-lillies, lettuce, violets, camomile, wild mallows, wether's head, &c. must be* used many mornings together. *Montan. consil. 31.* would have the head so washed once a week. *Lælius à fonte Eugubinus, consult. 44*, for an Italian Count troubled with head-melancholy, repeats many medicines which he tried, *but two alone which did the cure; use of whey made of goat's milk, with the extract of Hellebore, and irrigations of the head with water-lillies, lettuce, violets, camomile, &c. upon the suture of the crown.* *Päso*

¹ *Cinis testudinis ustus, et viño potus, melancholiam curat, et, rasura cornu Rhinocerotis, &c. Sckenkijus.* [² Whether adoraments nourish.] ³ *Instat in matrice, quòd sursum et deorsum ad odoris sensum præcipitur.* ⁴ *Viscount St. Alban's.* [⁵ =Chemically.] ⁶ *Ex decocto florum nymphææ, lactucæ, violarum, chamomilæ, althææ, capitis vervecum, &c.* ⁷ *Inter auxilia multa adhibita duo visa sunt remedium adferre, usus seri caprini cum extracto Hellebori, et irrigatio ex lacte nymphææ, violatum, &c. suturæ coronali adhibita; his remediis sanitatem pristinam adeptus est.*

commends a ram's lungs applied hot to the fore part of the head,¹ or a young lamb divided in the back, exenterated, &c. All acknowledge the chief cure to consist in moistening throughout. Some, saith *Laurentius*, use powders, and caps to the brain, but, forasmuch as such aromatical things are hot and dry, they must be sparingly administered.

Unto the heart we may do well to apply bags, epithemes, ointments, of which *Laurentius*, c. 9. *de Melan.* gives examples. *Bruel* prescribes an epitheme for the heart, of bugloss, borage, water-lily, Violet waters, sweet wine, balm leaves, nutmegs, cloves, &c.

For the Belly, make a Fomentation of oil,² in which *the seeds of cummin, rue, carrots, dill, have been boiled.*

Baths are of wonderful great force in this malady, much admired by *Galen*, *Aëtius*, *Rhasis*, &c. of sweet water, in which is boiled the leaves of mallows, roses, violets, water-lilies, wether's head, flowers of Bugloss, Camomile, Melilot, &c. *Guianer. cap. 8. Tract. 15.* would have them used twice a day, and when they come forth of the Baths, their back bones to be anointed with oil of Almonds, Violets, Nymphæa, fresh Capon-grease, &c.

Amulets and things to be borne about I find prescribed, taxed by some, approved by *Renodeus*, *Platerus*, (*amuleta, inquit, non negligenda*), and others; look for them in *Mizaldus*, *Porta*, *Albertus*, &c. *Bassardus Visontinus*, *ant. philos.* commends *Hypericon*, or *S. John's Wort* gathered on a ⁶ Friday in the hour of *Jupiter*, when it comes to his effectual operation (*that is about the full Moon in July*); so gathered, and borne or hung about the neck, it mightily helps this affection, and drives away all phantastical spirits. ⁶ *Philes*, a Greek Author that flourished in the time of *Michael Palæologus*, writes that a Sheep or Kid's skin, whom a Wolf worried,

⁷ *Hædus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi,*

ought not at all to be worn about a man, *because it causeth palpitation of the heart*, not for any fear, but a secret virtue which Amulets have. A ring made of the hoof of an ass's

¹ Confert et pulmo arietis, calidus agnus per dorsum divisus, exenteratus, admotus sincipiti. ² Semina cumini, rutæ, dauci, anethi cocta. ³ Lib. 3. de locis affect. ⁴ Tetrab. 2. ser. 1. cap. 10. ⁵ Cap. de mel. collectum die Vener. hora Jovis cum ad Energiam venit, i.e. ad plenilunium Julii, inde gesta et collo appensa hunc affectum apprime juvat, et fanaticos spiritus expellit. ⁶ L. de proprietat. animal. Ovis a lupo correptæ pelleri non esse pro indumento corporis usurpandam, cordis enim palpitationem excitat, &c. ⁷ Mart. [x. 48. 14.]

right fore-foot carried about, &c. I say with ¹ *Renodeus*, they are not altogether to be rejected. Peony doth cure Epilepsy, precious stones most diseases, ² a Wolf's dung borne with one helps the Cholick, a ³ Spider an Ague, &c. Being in the Country in the vacation time not many years since at *Lindley* in *Leicestershire*, my Father's house, I first observed this Amulet of a Spider in a nut-shell lapped in silk, &c. so applied for an Ague by ⁴ my Mother; whom, although I knew to have excellent Skill in Chirurgery, sore eyes, aches, &c. and such experimental medicines, as all the country where she dwelt can witness, to have done many famous and good cures upon divers poor folks, that were otherwise destitute of help, yet, among all other experiments, this methought was most absurd and ridiculous, I could see no warrant for it. *Quid aranea cum febre?* For what Antipathy? till at length, rambling amongst author's (as often I do) I found this very medicine in *Dioscorides*, approved by *Matthiolus*, repeated by *Aldrovandus*, *cap. de aranea, lib. de insectis*; I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to Amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience. Such medicines are to be exploded that consist of words, characters, spells, and charms, which can do no good at all, but out of a strong conceit, as *Pomponatius* proves, or the Devil's policy, who is the first founder and teacher of them.

SUBSECT. 6.—*Correctors of Accidents to procure Sleep. Against fearful Dreams, Redness, &c.*

WHEN you have used all good means and helps of alteratives, averters, diminutives, yet there will be still certain accidents to be corrected and amended, as waking, fearful dreams, flushing in the face to some, ruddiness, &c.

Waking, by reason of their continual cares, fears, sorrows, dry brains, is a symptom that much crucifies melancholy men, and must therefore be speedily helped, and sleep by all means procured, which sometimes is a sufficient ⁵ remedy of itself without any other Physick. *Skenkius*, in his observations, hath an example of a woman that was so cured. The means to procure it are inward

¹ Phar. lib. i. cap. 12.

² Aëtius, cap. 31. Tet. 3. ser. 4.

³ Dioscorides,

⁴ Ulysses Aldrovandus de aranea.

⁵ Mistress Dorothy Burton, she died 1629.

⁶ Solo somno curata est citra medici auxilium, fol. 154.

or outward. Inwardly taken, are simples, or compounds; simples, as Poppy, Nymphæa, Violets, Roses, Lettuce, Mandrake, Henbane, Nightshade or Solanum, Saffron, Hemp-seed, Nutmegs, Willows with their seeds, juice, decoctions, distilled waters, &c. Compounds are syrups, or Opiates, syrup of Poppy, Violets, Verbasco, which are commonly taken with distilled waters.

℞. diacodii ℥j. diascordii ℥ss aquæ lactucæ ℥iij. f. misto fiat potio ad horam somni sumenda.

Requies Nicolai, Philonium Romanum, Triphera magna, Pilula de Cynoglossa, Dioscordium, Laudanum Paracelsi, Opium, are in use, &c. Country folks commonly make a posset of hemp-seed, which *Fuchsius* in his Herbal so much discommends, yet I have seen the good effect, and it may be used where better medicines are not to be had.

Laudanum Paracelsi is prescribed in two or three grains, with a dram of *Dioscordium*, which *Oswald. Crollius* commends. *Opium* itself is most part used outwardly, to smell to in a ball, though commonly so taken by the Turks to the same quantity ¹ for a cordial, and at *Goa* in the *Indies*; the dose 40 or 50 grains.

Rulandus calls *Requiem Nicolai ultimum refugium*, the last refuge, but of this and the rest look for peculiar receipts in *Victorius Faventinus, cap. de Phrenesi, Heurnius, cap. de Mania, Hildesheim, spicil. 4. de somno et vigil. &c.* Outwardly used, as oil of Nutmegs by extraction or expression, with Rose-water to anoint the temples, oils of Poppy, Nenuphar, Mandrake, Purslain, Violets, all to the same purpose.

Montan. consil. 24 and 25, much commends odoraments of Opium, Vinegar, and Rose-water. *Laurentius, cap. 9*, prescribes Pomanders and nodules; see the receipts in him; *Codronchus*, ² wormwood to smell to.

Unguentum Alabastrum, Populeum, are used to anoint the temples, nostrils, or, if they be too weak, they mix Saffron and Opium. Take a grain or two of Opium, and dissolve it with three or four drops of Rose-water in a spoon, and after mingle with it as much *Unguentum Populeum* as a nut, use it as before: or else take half a dram of Opium, *Unguentum Populeum*, oil of Nenuphar, Rose-water, Rose-vinegar, of each half an ounce, with

¹ Bellonius, observat. lib. 3. cap. 15. Lassitudinem et labores animi tollunt; inde Garcias ab Horto, lib. 1. cap. 4. simp. med. ² Absinthium somnos allicit olfactu.

as much virgin wax as a nut; anoint your temples with some of it, *ad horam somni*.¹

Sacks of Wormwood, ² Mandrake, ³ Henbane, ⁴ Roses, made like pillows and laid under the Patient's head, are mentioned by ⁵ Cardan and Mizaldus, to anoint the soles of the feet with the fat of a dormouse, the teeth with ear-wax of a dog, swine's gall, hare's ears: charms, &c.

Frontlets are well known to every good wife, ⁶ Rose-water and Vinegar, with a little woman's milk, and Nutmegs grated upon a Rose-cake applied to both temples.

For an Emplaister, take of Castorium a dram and half, of Opium half a scruple, mixt both together with a little water of life, make two small plaisters thereof, and apply them to the temples.

Rulandus, cent. 1. cur. 17. cent. 3. cur. 94, prescribes Epithemes, and lotions of the head, with the decoction of flowers of Nymphæa, Violet-leaves, Mandrake roots, Henbane, white Poppy. *Herc. de Saxonid, stillicidia*, or droppings, &c. Lotions of the feet do much avail of the said herbs: by these means, saith *Laurentius*, I think you may procure sleep to the most melancholy men in the world. Some use horse-leeches behind the ears, and apply Opium to the place.

⁶ *Bayerus*, lib. 2. c. 13, sets down some remedies against fearful dreams, and such as walk and talk in their sleep. *Baptista Porta*, *Mag. nat. l. 2. c. 6*, to procure pleasant dreams and quiet rest, would have you take Hippoglossa, or the herb Horse-tongue, Balm, to use them or their distilled waters after supper, &c. Such men must not eat Beans, Pease, Garlick, Onions, Cabbage, Venison, Hare, use black wines, or any meat hard of digestion at supper, or lie on their backs, &c..

Rusticus pudor, bashfulness, flushing in the face, high colour, ruddiness, are common grievances, which much torture many melancholy men, when they meet a man, or come in company of their betters, strangers, after a meal, or if they drink a cup of wine or strong drink, they are as red and flect, and sweat, as if they

[1 At bed-time.] ² Read *Lemnius*, lib. her. bib. cap. 2. of Mandrake. ³ *Hyoscyamus sub cervicali viridis*. ⁴ *Plantum pedis inungere pinguedine gliris dicunt efficacissimum, et, quod vix credi potest, dentes inunctos ex sorditie aurium canis somnum profundum conciliare, &c.* Cardan de rerum varietat. [Lib. viii. cap. 46.] ⁵ *Veni mecum lib.* ⁶ *At si quid incautius exciderit, aut, &c.*

had been at a Mayor's Feast, *præsertim si metus accesserit*, it exceeds, ¹ they think every man observes, takes notice of it : and fear alone will effect it, suspicion without any other cause. *Schenkius, observ. med. lib. 1.*, speaks of a waiting Gentlewoman in the Duke of Savoy's Court, that was so much offended with it, that she kneeled down to him, and offered *Biarus*, a Physician, all that she had to be cured of it. And 'tis most true that ² *Antony Lodovicus* saith in his book *de Pudore, bashfulness either hurts or helps*; such men I am sure it hurts. If it proceed from suspicion or fear, ³ *Felix Plater* prescribes no other remedy but to reject and contemn it : *id populus curat scilicet*,⁴ as a ⁵ 'worthy Physician in our town said to a friend of mine in like case, complaining without a cause, suppose one looked red, what matter is it? make light of it, who observes it?

If it trouble at or after meals, (as ⁶ *Jobertus* observes, *med. pract. l. 1. c. 7.*) after a little exercise or stirring, for many are then hot and red in the face, or if they do nothing at all, especially women; he would have them let blood in both arms, first one, then another, two or three days between, if blood abound, to use frictions of the other parts, feet especially, and washing of them, because of that consent which is betwixt the head and the feet. ⁷ And withal to refrigerate the face, by washing it often with Rose, Violet, Nenuphar, Lettuce, Lovage waters, and the like : but the best of all is that *lac virginale*, or strained liquor of Litharge. It is diversely prepared; by *Jobertus* thus; *℞ lithar. argent. unc. j. cerussæ candi- dissimæ 3 j. j. caphuræ, 3 j. j. Dissolvantur aquarum solani, lactucæ, et nenupharis ana unc. j. j. aceti vini albi, unc. j. j. Aliquot horas residuat, deinde transmittatur per philt. Aqua servetur in vase vitreo, ac ea bis terve facies quotidie irroretur.* ⁸ *Quercetan, spagir. phar. cap. 6.* commends the water of frogs' spawn for ruddiness in the face. ⁹ *Crato, Consil. 283, Scoltzi*, would fain have them use all Summer the condite flowers of Succory, Strawberry-water, Roses, (cupping-glasses are good for the time), *consil. 285,*

¹ Nam qua parte pavor simul est pudor additus illi. Statius. ² Olyssipponensis Medicus; pudor aut juvat aut lædit. ³ De mentis alienat. ⁴ Ter. And. ii. ii. 14.] ⁵ M. Doctor Ashworth. ⁶ Facies nonnullis maxime calet rubetque, si se paululum exercuerint; nonnullis quiescentibus idem accidit, fœmiais præsertim; causa quicquid fervidum aut halituosum sanguinem facit. ⁷ Interim faciei prospiciendum ut ipsa refrigeretur; utrumque præstabit frequens potio ex aqua rosarum, violarum, nenupharis, &c. ⁸ Ad faciei ruborem aqua spermatis ranarum. ⁹ Recte utantur in æstate floribus cichorii saccharo conditis vel saccharo rosaceo, &c.

et 286, and to defecate impure blood with the infusion of Senna, Savory, Balm-water. ¹*Hollerius* knew one cured alone with the use of Succory boiled, and drunk for five months, every morning in the Summer.

² It is good overnight to anoint the face with Hare's blood, and in the morning to wash it with strawberry and cowslip-water, the juice of distill'd Lemons, juice of cowcubers, or to use the seeds of Melons, or kernels of Peaches beaten small, or the roots of arum, and mixt with wheat bran to bake it in an oven, and to crumble it in strawberry-water, ³ or to put fresh cheese curds to a red face.

If it trouble them at meal times that flushing, as oft it doth, with sweating or the like, they must avoid all violent passions and actions, as laughing, &c. strong drink, and drink very little, 'one draught saith *Crato*, and that about the midst of their meal; avoid at all times indurate, salt, and especially spice, and windy meat.

⁴*Crato* prescribes the condite fruit of wild rose to a Nobleman his Patient, to be taken before dinner or supper, to the quantity of a chestnut. It is made of sugar, as that of Quinces. The decoction of the roots of sow-thistle before meat by the same Author is much approved. To eat of a baked Apple some advise, or of a preserved Quince, Cumminseed prepared with meat instead of salt, to keep down fumes: not to study, or to be intente after meals.

R. Nucleogum persic. seminis melonum, ana unc. ʒss
aquæ fragorum l. ij. misce, utatur mane.

⁵ To apply cupping-glasses to the shoulders is very good. For the other kind of ruddiness which is settled in the face with pimples, &c. because it pertains not to my subject, I will not meddle with it. I refer you to *Crato's Counsels*, *Arnoldus*, lib. 1. brevior. cap. 39. 1, *Ruland*, *Peter Forestus*, de *Fuco*, lib. 31. obser. 2, to *Platerus*, *Mercurialis*, *Ulmus*, *Randoletius*, *Heurnius*, *Menados*, and others, that have written largely of it.

¹ Solo usu decocti cichorii. ² Utile imprimis noctu faciem illinire sanguine leporino, et mane aqua fragorum, vel aqua floribus verbasci cum succo limonium distillato abluere. ³ Utile rubenti faciei caseum receptem imponere. ⁴ Consil. 21. lib. Unico vini haustu sit contentus. ⁵ Idem consil. 283. Scoltzii. Laudatur conditus rosæ caninæ fructus ante prandium et cœnam ad magnitudinem castanere. Decoctum radicum sonchi, si ante cibum sumatur, valet plurimum. ⁶ Cucurbit. ad scapulas appositæ.

Those other grievances and symptoms of head-ache, palpitation of heart, *vertigo, delirium, &c.* which trouble many melancholy men, because they are copiously handled apart in every Physician, I do voluntarily omit.

MEMB. II.

Cure of Melancholy over all the Body.

WHERE the melancholy blood possesseth the whole body with the Brain, ¹it is best to begin with blood-letting. The ²*Greeks* prescribe the *Median*, or middle vein, to be opened, and so much blood to be taken away as the Patient may well spare, and the cut that is made must be wide enough. The *Arabians* hold it fittest to be taken from that arm on which side there is more pain and heaviness in the head: if black blood issue forth, bleed on, if it be clear and good, let it be instantly suppressed, ³*because the malice of melancholy is much corrected by the goodness of the blood.* If the party's strength will not admit much evacuation in this kind at once, it must be assayed again and again: if it may not be conveniently taken from the arm, it must be taken from the knees and ancles, especially to such men or women whose hemroids or months have been stopped. ⁴If the malady continue, it is not amiss to evacuate in a part in the fore-head, and to virgins in the ancles, which are melancholy for love-matters; so to widows that are much grieved and troubled with sorrow and cares; for bad blood flows in the heart, and so crucifies the mind. The hemroids are to be opened with an instrument, or horse-leeches, &c. See more in *Montaltus*, cap. 29. *Skenkius* hath an example of one that was ⁵cured by an accidental wound in his thigh, much bleeding freed him from melancholy. Diet, Diminutives, Alteratives, Cordials, Correctors, as before, intermixt as occasion serves; ⁶*all their study must be to make a melancholy man fat, and then the cure is ended.* *Diuretica*, or medicines to procure urine, are prescribed by some in this kind, hot and cold: hot where the heat of the liver doth

¹ Piso. ² Mediana præ cæteris. ³ Succī melancholici malitia à sanguinis bonitate corrigitur. ⁴ Perseverante malo, ex quacunque parte sanguis detrahi debet. ⁵ Observat. fol. 154. Curatus ex vulnere in crure ob cruorem amissum. ⁶ Studium sit omne ut melancholicus impinguetur: ex quo enim pingues et carnosi, illigo sani sunt.

not forbid ; cold where the heat of the liver is very great. ¹ Amongst hot are Parsley roots, Lovage, Fennel, &c. cold, Melon-seeds, &c. with whey of Goat's-milk, which is the common conveyer.

To purge and ² purify the blood use Sowthistle, Succory, Senna, Endive, Carduus Benedictus, Dandelion, Hop, Maidenhair, Fumitory, Bugloss, Borage, &c. with their juice, decoctions, distilled waters, syrups, &c.

Oswaldus Crollius, Basil. Chym. much admires salt of Corals in this case, and *Aëtius, tetrabib. ser. 2. c. 114, Hieram Archigenis*, which is an excellent medicine to purify the blood for all melancholy affections, falling sickness, none to be compared to it.

MEMB. III.

SUBJECT. I.—Cure of Hypochondriacal Melancholy.

IN this cure, as in the rest, is especially required the rectification of those six non-natural things above all, as good diet, which *Montanus, consil. 27*, enjoins a French Nobleman, to have an especial care of it, without which all other remedies are in vain. Blood-letting is not to be used, except the Patient's body be very full of blood, and that it be derived from the liver and spleen to the stomach and his vessels, then ³ to draw it back, to cut the inner vein of either arm, some say the *salvatella*, and, if the malady be continueate, ⁴ to open a vein in the forehead.

Preparatives and Alteratives may be used as before, saving that there must be respect had as well to the Liver, Spleen, Stomack, Hypochondries, as to the heart and brain. To comfort the Stomack and inner parts against wind and obstructions, by *Aretæus, Galen, Aëtius, Aurelianus, &c.* and many latter writers, are still prescribed the decoctions of Wormwood, Centaury, Pennyroyal, Betony sod in whey, and daily drunk many have been cured by this medicine alone.

Prosper Alpinus and some others as much magnify the water

¹ Hildesheim, spicel. 3. Inter calida radix petroselini, apii, feniculi ; inter frigida emulsio seminis melonum cum sero caprino, quod est commune vehiculum. ² Hoc unum præmoneo, Domine, ut sis diligens circa victum, sine quo cætera remedia frustra adhibentur.

³ Laurentius, cap. 15. Evulsionis gratia venam internam alterius brachii secamus. ⁴ Si pertinax morbus, venam fronte secabis. Bruell.

⁵ Ego maximam curam stomacho delegabo. Octa. Horafianus, lib. 2, c. 5.

of *Nilus* against this malady, an especial good remedy for windy melancholy. For which reason be like *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, when he married his daughter *Berenice* to the King of *Assyria* (as *Celsus*, lib. 2. records) *magnis impensis Nili aquam afferi jussit*, to his great charge caused the water of *Nilus* to be carried with her, and gave command that during her life she should use no other drink. I find those that commend use of Apples in splenetick and this kind of melancholy (*Lambswool* some call it) which, howsoever approved, must certainly be corrected of cold rawness and wind.

Codronchus, in his book *de sale absin.* magnifies the oil and salt of Wormwood above all other remedies, *1 which works better and speedier than any simple whatsoever, and much to be preferred before all those fulsome decoctions, and infusions, which must offend by reason of their quantity; this alone, in a small measure taken, expels wind, and that most forcibly, moves urine, cleanseth the stomach of all gross humours, crudities, helps appetite, &c.* *Arnoldus* hath a Wormwood wine which he would have used, which every *Pharmacopæia* speaks of.

Diminutives and purgers may ² be taken as before, of *hiera*, *manna*, *cassia*, which *Montanus*, *consil.* 230, for an *Italian* Abbot, in this kind prefers before all other simples, *3 and these must be often used, still abstaining from those which are more violent, lest they do exasperate the stomach, &c. and the mischief by that means be increased;* though in some Physicians I find very strong purgers, *Hellebore* itself, prescribed in this affection. If it long continue, vomits may be taken after meat, or otherwise gently procured with warm water, oxymel, &c. now and then. *Fuchsius*, *cap.* 33, prescribes *Hellebore*; but still take heed in this malady, which I have often warned, of hot medicines, *4 because*, (as *Salvianus* adds), *drought follows heat, which increaseth the disease:* and yet *Baptista Sylvaticus*, *controv.* 32, forbids cold medicines, *5 because they increase obstructions, and other bad symptoms.* But this varies as the parties

¹ Citius et efficacius suas vires exercet, quam solent decocta ac diluta in quantitate multa, et magna cum assumptum molestia desumpta. Flatus hic sal efficaciter dissipat, urinam movet, humores crassos abstergit, stomachum egregie confortat, cruditatem, nauseam, appetentiam mirum in modum renovat, &c. ² Piso, *Altomarus*, *Laurentius*, c. 15. ³ His utendum sapius iteratis: a vehementioribus semper abstinendum, ne ventrem exasperent. ⁴ Lib. 2. cap. 1. Quoniam caliditate conjuncta est siccitas, quæ malum auget. ⁵ Quisquis frigidis auxiliis hoc morbo usus fuerit, is obstructionem aliaque symptomata augebit.

do, and 'tis not easy to determine which to use. ¹ *The stomach most part in this infirmity is cold, the liver hot; scarce therefore (which Montanius insinuates, consil. 229, for the Earl of Montfort) can you help the one, and not hurt the other: much discretion must be used; take no Physick at all, he concludes, without great need. Lilius [à Fonte] Eugubinus, Consil. 77, for an Hypochondriacal German Prince, used many medicines, but it was after signified to him in² letters, that the decoction of China and Sassafras, and salt of Sassafras, wrought him an incredible good. In his 108th consult. he used as happily the same remedies; this, to a third might have been poison, by overheating his liver and blood.*

For the other parts look for remedies in *Splanarola, Gordonius, Massaria, Mercatus, Johnson, &c.* One for the spleen, amongst many other, I will not omit, cited by *Hildesheim, spicil. 2*, prescribed by *Mat. Flaccus*, and out of the authority of *Benevenius*. *Antony Benevenius* in an hypochondriacal passion *cured an exceeding great swelling of the spleen with Capers alone, a meat befitting that infirmity, and frequent use of the water of a Smith's Forge; by this Physick he helped a sick man whom all other Physicians had forsaken, that for seven years had been Splenetick. And of such force is this water, that those creatures that drink of it have commonly little or no spleen.* See more excellent medicines for the Spleen in him and *Lod. Mercatus*, who is a great magnifier of this medicine. This *Chalybs præparatus*, or steel-drink, is much likewise commended to this disease by *Daniel Sennertus, l. 1. part. 2. cap. 12*, and admired by *J. Cæsar Claudinus, Responso: 29*; he calls steel the proper *Alexipharmacum* of this malady, and much magnifies it; look for receipts in them. ⁴ Averters must be used to the liver and spleen, and to scour the Meseraick Veins; and they are either to open, or provoke urine. You can open no place better than the Hemroids, *which if by horse-leeches they be made to flow, there may be again such an excellent remedy, as Plater*

¹ Ventriculus plerumque frigidus, hepar calidum; quomodo ergo ventriculū calefaciet, vel refrigerabit hepar, sine alterius maximo detrimento? ² Significatum per literas, incredibilem utilitatem ex decocto Chinæ, et Sassafras percepisse.

³ Tumorem splenis incurabilem solacari curavit, cibo tali ægritudini aptissimo: soloque usu aquæ, in qua faber ferrarius sæpe candens ferrum extinxerat, &c.

⁴ Animalia quæ apud hos fabros educantur exiguis habent lienēs. ⁵ L. 1. cap.

17. ⁶ Continuus ejus usus semper felicem in ægris finem est assecutus. ⁷ Si Hæmorrhoides fluxerint, nullum præstantius esset remedium, quæ sanguisugis admotis provocari poterunt. Observat. lib. pro hypoc. leguleio.

holds. *Sallust. Salvian.* will admit no other phlebotomy but this; and by his experience in an hospital which he kept he found all mad and melancholy men worse for other blood-letting. *Laurentius, cap. 15*, calls this of horse-leeches a sure remedy to empty the spleen and Meseraick Membrane. Only *Montanus, consil. 241*, is against it; ¹ *to other men* (saith he) *this opening of the hæmrods seems to be a profitable remedy; for my part I do not approve of it, because it draws away the thinnest blood, and leaves the thickest behind.*

Aëtius, Vidus Vidius, Mercurialis, Fuchsius, recommend *Diureticks*, or such things as provoke urine, as Aniseeds, Dill, Fennel, Germander, ground Pine, sod in water, drunk in powder; and yet ² *P. Bayerus* is against them, and so is *Hollerius*; *all melancholy men* (saith he) *must avoid such things as provoke urine, because by them the subtle or thinnest is evacuated, the thicker matter remains.*

• Clysters are in good request. *Trincavellius, lib. 3. cap. 38*, for a young Nobleman, esteems of them in the first place, and *Hercules de Saxoniâ, Panth. lib. cap. 16*, is a greater approver of them. ³ *I have found* (saith he) *by experience that many hypochondriacs melancholy men have been cured by the sole use of Clysters*, receipts are to be had in him.

Besides those fomentations, irrigations, inunctions, odoraments, prescribed for the head, there must be the like used for the Liver, Spleen, Stomack, Hypochondries, &c. *'In crudity* (saith *Piso*) *'tis good to bind the stomack hard*, to hinder wind, and to help concoction.

Of inward medicines I need not speak; use the same Cordials as before. In this kind of melancholy some prescribe ⁴ Treacle in Winter, especially before or after purges, or in the Spring, as *Avicenna*; ⁵ *Trincavellius*, Mithridate, ⁶ *Montaltus*; Peony seeds, Unicorn's horn, *os de corde cervi*, &c.

Amongst Topicks, or outward medicines, none are more precious than Baths, but of them I have spoken. Fomentations to the Hypochondries are very good of wine and water, in which are sod Southernwood, Melilot, Epithyme, Mugwort, Senna, Polypody, as

¹ Aliis apertio hæc in hoc morbo videtur utilissima; mihi non admodum probatur, quia sanguinem tenuem attrahit et crassum relinquit. ² *Lib. 2. cap. 13.* Omnes melancholici debent omittere urinam provocantia, quoniam per ea educitur subtile, et remanet crassum. ³ Ego experientia probavi multos Hypochondriacos solo usu Clysterum fuisse sanatos. ⁴ In cruditate optimum ventriculum arctius alligari. ⁵ *3j. Theriacæ, vere præsertim et ætate.* ⁶ *Cons. 12. l. 1.*

⁷ *Cap. 33.*

also ¹*Cerots*, ²*Plaisters*, *Lipiments*, *Ointments* for the Spleen, Liver, and Hypochondries, of which look for examples in *Laurentius*, *Jobertus*, lib. 3. c. 1. *pra. med. Montanus*, consil. 231, *Montaltus*, cap. 33, *Hercules de Saxonia*, *Faventinus*. And so of Epithemes, digestive powders, bags, oils, *Octavius Horatianus*, lib. 2. c. 5, prescribes chalastick ³*Cataplasms*, or dry purging medicines; *Pisc* Dropaces of pitch, and oil of Rue, applied at certain times to the stomach, to the metaphrene, or part of the back which is over against the heart; *Aëtius* sinapisms; *Montaltus*, cap. 35, would have the thighs to be ⁴cauterised, *Mercurialis* prescribes beneath the knees; *Laelius* [à Fonte] *Eugubinus*, cons. 77, for an Hypochondriacal Dutch-man, will have the cautery made in the right thigh, and so *Montanus*, consil. 55. The same *Montanus*, consil. 34, approves of issues in the arms or hinder part of the head. *Bernardus Paternus*, in *Hildesheim*, spicil. 12; would have ⁵issues made in both the thighs: *Lod. Mercuratus* prescribes them near the Spleen, *aut prope ventriculi regimen*,⁶ or in either of the thighs. Ligatures, Frictions, and Cupping-glasses above or about the belly, without scarification, which ⁷*Felix Platerus* so much approves, may be used as before.

SUBSECT. 2.—*Correctors to expel Wind. Against Costiveness, &c.*

IN this kind of Melancholy one of the most offensive symptoms is wind, which, as in the other species, so in this, hath great need to be corrected and expelled.

The medicines to expel it are either inwardly taken or outwardly. Inwardly to expel wind, are simples or compounds: simples are herbs, roots, &c. as Galanga, Gentian, Angelica, Enula, Calamus Aromaticus, Valerian, Zeodoti, Iris, condite Ginger, Aristolochy, Cicliminus, China, Dittander, Penthyroyal, Rue, Calamint, Bay-berries and Bay-leaves, Betony, Rosemary, Hyssop, Sabine, Centaury, Mint, Camomile, Stœchas, *Agnus Castus*, Broom-flowers, Origan, Orange-pills, &c. Spices, as Saffron, Cinnamon, Bezoar Stone, Myrrh, Mace, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloves,

¹ Trithemellius, consil. 15. Cerotum pro sene melancholico ad jecur optimum.
² Emplastra pro splene. Fernel. consil. 45. [³ = Laxative.] ⁴ Dropax è pice navali et oleo rutaceo affigatur ventriculo, et toti metaphreni.
⁵ Cauteria cruribus inusta. ⁶ Fontanellæ sint in utroque crure. ⁷ Lib. 1. c. 17. [⁸ Or near the region of the belly.] ⁹ De mentis alienat. c. 3. Flatus egregie discutiunt, materiamque evocant.

Ginger, seeds of Anise, Fennel, Ammi, Cary, Nettle, Rue, &c. Juniper berries, *grana Paradisi*: Compounds, *Dianisum*, *Diaglanga*, *Diaciminum*, *Digecolaminth*, *Electuarium de baccis lauri*, *Benedicta laxativa*, *Pulvis ad flatus*, *Arid. Florent. Pulvis Carminativus*, *Argmaticum Rosatum*, *Treacle*, *Mithridate*, &c. This one caution of ¹*Gualter Bruel* is to be observed in the administering of these hot medicines and dry, *that, whilst they covet to expel wind, they do not inflame the blood and increase the disease. Sometimes* (as he saith) *medicines must more decline to heat, sometimes more to cold, as the circumstances require, and as the parties are inclined to heat or cold.*

Outwardly taken to expel winds, are oils, as of Camomile, Rue, Bays, &c. fomentations of the Hypochondries, with the decoctions of Dill, Pennyroyal, Rue, Bay-leaves, Cummin, &c. bags of Camomile-flowers, Aniseed, Cummin, Bays, Rue, Wormwood, Ointments of the Oil of Spikehard, Wormwood, Rue, &c. ²*Aretæus* prescribes Cataplasms of Camomile-flowers, Fennel, Aniseeds, Cummin, Rosemary, Wormwood-leaves, &c.

³Cupping-glasses applied to the Hypochondries, without scarification, do wonderfully resolve wind. *Fernelius, consil. 43*, much approves of them at the lower end of the belly; ⁴*Lod. Mercatus* calls them a powerful remedy, and testifieth moreover out of his own knowledge how many he hath seen suddenly eased by them. *Julius Cæsar Claudinus, respons. med. resp. 33*, admires these Cupping-glasses, which he calls (out of *Galen*) ⁵*a kind of enchantment; they cause such present help.*

Empiricks have a myriad of medicines, as to swallow a bullet of lead, &c. which I voluntarily omit. *Amatus Lusitanus, cent. 4. curat. 54*, for an Hypochondriacal person, that was extremely tormented with wind, prescribes a strange remedy. Put a pair of bellows' end into a Clyster pipe, and applying it into the fundament open the bowels, so draw forth the wind; *natura non admittit vacuum*.⁶ He vaunts he was the first invented this remedy,

¹ Cavendum hic diligenter à multum calefacientibus atque exsiccantibus, sive alimenta fuerint hæc, sive medicamenta: nonnulli enim, ut ventositates et rugitus comescant, hujusmodi utentes medicamentis, plurimum peccant, morbum sic augentes: debent enim medicamenta declinare ad calidum, vel frigidum, secundum exigentiam circumstantiarum, vel ut patiens inclinatur ad cal. et frigid. ² Cap. 5. lib. 7. ³ Piso Bruel. Mire flatu resolvit. ⁴ Lib. 1. c. 17. Nonnullos præ tensione ventris deploratos illico restitutos his vidimus. ⁵ Velut incantamentum quoddam, ex flatuoso spiritu dolorem ortum levavit. ⁶ [Nature abhors a vacuum.]

and by means of it speedily eased a melancholy man. Of the cure of this flatuous melancholy read more in *Fenus, de flatibus*, cap. 26, et passim alias.

Against Head-ache, Vertigo, Vapours which ascend forth of the stomach to molest the head, read *Hercules de Saxonia* and others.

If Costiveness offend in this, or any other of the three species, it is to be corrected with suppositories, clysters, or Enematives, powder of Senna, condite Prunels, &c.

R. Elect. lenit. & succo rosar. ana ℥j. misce.

Take as much as a Nutmeg at a time, half an hour before dinner or supper, or *pil. mastichin.* ʒ j. in six pills, a pill or two at a time. See more in *Montan. consil.* 229, *Hildesheim, spicil.* 2. *P. Cnemander* and *Montanus* commend ¹*Cyprian Turpentine*, which they would have familiarly taken, *to the quantity of a small Nut, two or three hours before dinner and supper, twice or thrice a week, if need be; for besides that it keeps the belly soluble, it clears the stomach, opens obstructions, cleanseth the liver, provokes urine.*

These in brief are the ordinary medicines which belong to the cure of melancholy, which, if they be used aright, no doubt may do much good. *Si non levando, saltem leniendo valent peculiaria benè selecta;* saith *Bessardus*; a good choice of particular receipts must needs ease, if not quite cure, not one, but all or most, as occasion serves.

Et quæ non prosunt singula, multa juvant.²

¹ Terebinthinam Cypriam habeant familiarem, ad quantitatem deglutiant nucis parvæ, tribus horis ante prandium vel cœnam, ter singulis septimanis prout expedire videbitur; nam, præterquam quod alvum mollem efficit, obstructions aperit, ventriculū purgat, urinam provocat, hepar mundificat. [² Ov.d, Remed. Am. 420. Many things aid collectively which do not individually.]

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